

AS

MOSCOW

CHURNS

Profound
change is in the
offing at all
levels of
Soviet society.

By Alex Amerisov

Page

12

Aspin's flight from dove to hawk
Impurities in the steel business
The Bond issue in Georgia
No due process for aliens

3	Palau says no nukes six times	9
5	Germany: the red and the green	10
6	The Japanese mob	18
8	Phil Ochs rises again	21



At the summit, Muammar Khadafy didn't mince words.

Third World gets in line

By Steve Askin and Jan Lippincott


HARARE, ZIMBABWE

Despite the efforts of Libyan leader Muammar Khadafy and his unlikely allies in President Reagan's State Department, the 101-member Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) continues to cling to its position of independence from both world power blocs. In an era of deepening superpower conflict, the most extraordinary feature of the Harare NAM summit, which finished its deliberations a day and a half late at 3:00 a.m. on September 7, is that 99 nations and two liberation movements from all points on the world's political and ideological spectrum, operating by consensus, emerged with coherent positions on some of the world's most divisive issues. Avoiding splits was a major achievement for NAM, which this year celebrated the 25th anniversary of its 25-nation founding conference in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. The movement represents about two-thirds of the world's governments and half its population. Because NAM was formed at a time of heightened fears of nuclear confrontation, disarmament has always been a top concern. Incoming Chairman Robert Mugabe, the Zimbabwean prime minister, emphasized disarmament as the issue "that

THE STORY INSIDE

precedes all others" because efforts "for economic development, for human rights, for justice" will come to naught if the world destroys itself with nuclear bombs. The only other NAM summit in sub-Saharan Africa was a 1970 meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, during the era of detente and strategic arms limitation talks. This summit took place, by contrast, in a period of intensified U.S.-Soviet tensions, superpower competition for Third World support and bitter intra-Third World conflict. NAM members include warring nations like Iran and Iraq, whose delegations' weapons were confiscated by customs agents when they arrived heavily armed at the Harare International Airport. They include governments close to both superpowers—from Cuba and Afghanistan on the Soviet side to Egypt (Washington's number two foreign aid client after Israel), Singapore and Liberia in the U.S. camp. Yet despite the potential divisions, NAM hammered out a series of strong policy positions reflecting the shared concerns of small nations in a world dominated by big powers. Southern Africa's crisis held center stage. The selection of Zimbabwe as the meeting place, which makes Prime Minister Robert Mugabe NAM's leader for the next three years, was an important symbolic statement. Zimbabwe, which borders on South Africa, overthrew white minority rule six years ago and

suffers military and economic sabotage from the apartheid state. The summit put substance behind the symbol, establishing a solidarity fund to help Zimbabwe, along with other front-line states, weather the economic damage caused by South African reprisals for economic sanctions. The meeting also condemned U.S. intervention in Nicaragua and Angola, and it urged Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea. Despite pressure from U.S.-allied Third World governments and some leaders' disdain for Khadafy, the movement strongly condemned America's "unprovoked aggression which constitutes an act of state terrorism" against Libya. **In praise of peace** Compromises and a desire for intra-Third World peace hold the movement together. Many leaders appealed for a negotiated settlement of the Iran-Iraq war, probably the most painful issue for NAM. North Korea, the only country that asked to host a NAM foreign ministers meeting scheduled for 1988, was bypassed in favor of Cyprus, apparently because of Korea's military support for Iran. On the crucial economic issue of debt—dubbed "the AIDS of the world economy" by Cuban President Fidel Castro—NAM stopped short of Castro's appeal for cancellation of Third World debts. Instead, it embraced a more modest Peruvian proposal to limit annual debt repayments to 10 percent of export earnings. Toward developing a common Third World stand on economic issues, the conference backed formation of a non-governmental "South Commission." It will be chaired by one of the most outspoken critics of the economic austerity plans imposed on poor nations by the International Monetary Fund, former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere. The strongest and most cogent challenge to the non-aligned posture came from Libyan leader Khadafy, who stunned delegates with a 68-minute extemporaneous attack on non-alignment, accompanied by rhythmic chants of a four-woman cheering section in military garb. Khadafy vowed to "split the movement of non-alignment and align totally against the U.S." In his view, the world has room for "two camps only, one for liberation and one for imperialism." He characterized NAM as "a fallacy and an international falsehood" that was too weak to act effectively: "You call for disarmament, but you have no arms," he said. "You call for peace, but your voice is not heard." He then rejected NAM as a haven for "spies and puppets" of imperialism, singling out Egypt, Zaire, Cameroon and Cote d'Ivoire because of their ties to Israel. Khadafy's words struck a resonant chord among member governments that privately criticize NAM for engaging in too much talk and too little action. But he received little open support, probably because most consider Third World unity—even at a lowest-common-denominator level—an even higher priority. The one tangible boost for Khadafy's line came from the U.S. State Department. It was not clear whether this happened inadvertently or because the State Department shares Khadafy's desire to force Third World nations to choose sides in global conflict. But Washington's new moves against Libya launched as pre-summit meetings began, guaranteed Khadafy a more sympathetic hearing than he would otherwise have received. **More of the same** The State Department further angered Third World leaders with a gratuitous mid-summit move against NAM leader Mugabe. Washington reannounced a decision actually taken in July to retaliate for Zimbabwean criticism of U.S. southern Africa policy by cutting off most aid to Zimbabwe's government (ITT, Aug. 6). Mugabe's response to the U.S. announcement—which some long-time NAM-watchers saw as an American attempt to draw press attention from the main event—was to virtually ignore it. The only official reaction was offered by his information minister, who blandly said that "people who give aid are free to decide to withdraw" it, while emphasizing that Zimbabwe won't be "intimidated" into changing its policies. Asked at a closing press conference whether NAM was "unbalanced" because it criticized the U.S. more frequently than the Soviet Union, Mugabe responded that criticism can only be balanced if both sides bear equal blame for actions against the non-aligned world. He noted that the U.S., not the Soviets, attacked NAM members Grenada and Libya, and supports rebels in Angola and Nicaragua. Many speakers drew parallels between South African destabilization in the region and U.S. backing for the contras in Nicaragua. Mozambican President Samora Machel, Angolan President Eduardo Dos Santos and SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma all supported Nicaragua's bid to host the next NAM summit in 1989. (The bid was opposed by several countries on the grounds that it would sharpen U.S.-NAM conflict. Although action was delayed to the 1988 foreign ministers meeting, Nicaragua emerged the front-runner.) Even the most vulnerable black southern African leaders spoke forcefully against apartheid. Lesotho's King Masheho II noted that South Africa has commissioned studies on how to cut off food for his tiny mountain kingdom, which is entirely surrounded by South Africa. He said his country's "survival would depend on the amount of solidarity and material support it received from NAM member states." Botswana's President Quett Masire, whose government has admitted that it can't itself impose sanctions because it is so economically tied to South Africa, criticized South Africa's major trading partners for rejecting sanctions. The movement is especially important for weak and tiny nations like these, according to the leader of the largest NAM nation, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. "Non-alignment matters to the world because we are the conscience-keepers of humanity," said Gandhi, the outgoing NAM chairman. "We are the voice of sanity. We are the refuge of the small state in an insecure world." **Steve Askin and Jan Lippincott report regularly for In These Times from Africa.**



IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper
(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

Editor
JAMES WEINSTEIN

Senior Editors
JOHN B. JUDIS
DAVID MOBERG

Managing Editor
SHERYL LARSON

Assistant Managing Editor/Books Editor
JEFF REID

Associate Editor
SALIM MUWAKKIL

Culture Editor
PATRICIA AUFDERHEIDE

European Editor
DIANA JOHNSTONE

California Bureau
(415) 531-7182
JOAN WALSH

In Short Editor
RACHEL STERNBERG

Editorial Assistant
FRIEDA GORDON LANDAU

Editorial Interns
JIM NAURECKAS **JENNEFER PITTMAN**
JEREMY SOLOMON

Art Director
MILES DE COSTER

Associate Art Director
NICOLE FERENTZ

Assistant Art Director
PETER HANNAN

Statman
PAUL COMSTOCK

Typesetter
JIM RINNERT

Publisher
JAMES WEINSTEIN

Assistant Publisher
RALPH MEDLEY

Co-Business Managers

Finance
LOUIS HIRSCH

Data Processing/Accounting
DONNA THOMAS

Office/Personnel
HANIA RICHMOND

Advertising Director
CYNTHIA DIAZ

Advertising Assistant
BRUCE EMBREY

Receptionist
THERESA NUTALL

Circulation Director
LEENIE FOLSOM

Circulation Manager
GEORGE GORHAM

Fulfillment Manager
DANIEL C. STICCO

Circulation Assistant
DONNA JOHNSON

Telephone Promotions
MARK SEDLACK **LAURA GILLENS**

Sponsors

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, William Sennett, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman (1927-1985), E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1986 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$47.95 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$3; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. This issue (Vol. 10, No. 35) published Sept. 17, 1986, for newsstand sales Sept. 17-23, 1986.

The Democrats' most vital vote

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON, DC

THIS SEASON'S MOST IMPORTANT political battles are taking place within the Republican and Democratic parties rather than between them—in the Republican Party, between the traditional Republicans and the evangelicals, and in the Democratic Party, between opponents and proponents of the Reagan administration's foreign policy.

In this respect, the most important election for the Democrats will not take place in November, but in January, when the newly elected Democratic House members return to Washington to elect their leadership. When the Democratic Caucus gathers, it will vote on whether Rep. Les Aspin (D-WI)—once a leading liberal, but now increasingly a supporter of the administration and Pentagon—should remain the chairman of the powerful House Armed Services Committee.

Basic procedural and political issues will be at stake in the vote. When Aspin ousted reigning Chairman Melvin Price in 1985, he deeply offended House conservatives who want to preserve the seniority system by which committee chairmanships go to the member with the longest record in the House. But in the ensuing two years, he has equally offended many of his liberal supporters, who had expected he would lead the Democratic charge against the Reagan administration's military policies.

In the last year, Aspin has become a favorite of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority (CDM), the organization founded by pro-Vietnam war Democrats after the party nominated anti-war Sen. George McGovern for president in 1972. CDM members such as Jeane Kirkpatrick have gone on to play key roles in the Reagan administration, while others have continued to push the Democratic Party toward supporting administration stands on Central America. CDM spokesmen like the *New Republic's* Charles Krauthammer characterize the Aspin vote as a referendum on "where the Democratic Party is headed."

Aspin's chief asset at this point is that there is no opponent who could unite both liberals and conservatives against him. His principal foe to date is conservative Texas Rep. Marvin Leath, who has consistently backed contra aid and opposed any arms control proposals yet is known as a "team-player" in party circles. Liberals may be mad enough to support Leath. Significantly, even Rep. Ron Dellums, the most adamant opponent of military spending and foreign intervention on the Armed Services Committee, would not rule out backing Leath against Aspin. "He's worked with Leath on a number of military construction projects and found him to be a person of his word," a Dellums aide said.

Whiz kid

Aspin, who was born in Milwaukee just north of the Racine-Kenosha district that he represents, graduated from Yale in 1960, and received an M.A. from Oxford and a Ph.D. in economics from M.I.T. In the army from 1966-68, he served as an aide in Robert McNamara's Pentagon. In 1968, he headed President Lyndon Johnson's re-election bid in Wisconsin. When Johnson pulled out of the race, Aspin switched to Robert Kennedy—a sudden change of allegiance that may have foreshadowed his later switch from left to right.

In 1970, Aspin, backed by labor unions, peace and ecology groups, won 61 percent of the vote in a congressional race against a Republican incumbent. As a freshman on the Armed Services Committee, he quickly established himself as the leading dove. In 1975, he was a leader of the revolt that



LES ASPIN (REPRESENTATIVE, WISCONSIN)

unseated the committee's autocratic chairman F. Edward Hebert, and replaced him with the more pliable Price. In the late '70s, Aspin even challenged the Carter administration's proposal for annual military budget increases, and with the help of such able assistants as Fred Kaplan, author of *The Wizards of Armageddon* and now the *Boston Globe's* arms control correspondent, he authored some of the best critiques of Pentagon spending and strategy.

But after Reagan won in 1980, Aspin, like other Democrats, began to back away from his opposition to military spending increases, and to frame his proposals in terms of military reform. In 1983, he broke with his past and his liberal allies by supporting the Reagan administration's Scowcroft Report. It proposed funding the MX missile as a means of inducing the Soviet Union to the bargaining table. Aspin argued at the time that Democrats could use the MX to win the administration's agreement to meaningful arms control negotiations and to shift toward small, mobile, single-warhead Midgetman missiles. Aspin's position appeared to be merely a tactical retreat from his former arms-control strategy.

In January 1985, Aspin and Oklahoma Rep. Dave McCurdy led a revolt against the 80-year-old Price, who had grown increasingly feeble and unable to function as chairman. In spite of House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill's support of Price, Price was unseated 121-118 in the Democratic Caucus vote. Aspin, nominated from the floor by McCurdy, was elected to replace Price over Florida's aging Rep. Charles Bennett, the next ranking committee member. Aspin's election reflected the Democrats' concern at having an intelligent and telegenic chairman of one of the key House committees as well as the liberal Democrats' predominance in the Caucus.

MX and the contras

But Aspin's support among House liberals, like California's Barbara Boxer and Massachusetts' Barney Frank, hinged on what they believed was Aspin's promise to op-

pose further MX funding. One anti-MX lobbyist later commented that "he left people with the impression that he was going to oppose the MX."

But Aspin infuriated House liberals by backing funding for 50 MX missiles on the administration's grounds that the missile had become an important bargaining chip in the Geneva talks. He further infuriated liberals by capitulating to the Senate in the fall 1985 House-Senate conference to reconcile the two spending bills. In the negotiations, Aspin gave up the arms control amendments to the bill and agreed to the higher Republican spending figure.

The last straw was Aspin's support this summer for the administration's contra aid proposal. Aspin had opposed contra aid in March and had given no indication to his fellow Democrats that he had changed his mind. Later he said, "I was voting my conscience." But his vote confirmed the liberals' impression that he was utterly untrustworthy.

Few of Aspin's liberal foes deny his intelligence. Yet most have come to regard him as a crass opportunist who is trying to position himself to become the next Democratic secretary of defense. "If he wants to be

secretary of defense, he has to support some pluses on the military side, or he will have so much opposition he couldn't possibly get appointed," one arms control lobbyist said.

A liberal who worked closely with Aspin was more blunt: "He would sell out his mother if he thought it was going to get him anywhere."

In July, House liberals like Frank began grumbling that they would vote to unseat Aspin, and Bennett, Leath and the more liberal Massachusetts Rep. Nicholas Mavroules declared their interest in taking Aspin's place. Liberals hinted that they might support Leath—even though he had opposed them on every major defense and foreign policy issue—because he was more trustworthy than Aspin.

Better a known devil

Since then, Aspin has been trying to win back liberal support. In August, when the Armed Services military spending came to the floor, he backed a lower spending level, sponsored by his committee ally, North Carolina's John Spratt, and he supported five anti-administration arms control amendments. These amendments would ban anti-satellite missile tests, block production of an air-dropped chemical bomb, require continued administration compliance with SALT II and a partial ban on nuclear tests and reduce spending for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

House Democrats and arms-control lobbyists now believe that the election is Aspin's to win or lose. If he can win Senate agreement to some of the House provisions in conference, he will be able to justify his leadership position to liberals wary of Leath's record. But if he buckles under to Senate Republicans, Aspin could be defeated in January.

In the liberals' debate over Aspin, two different perspectives are apparent. House liberals justifiably feel betrayed by Aspin. They judge his tenure both against his own past and against what they believe were the promises he made in January 1985. And they see Aspin as a symbol of Reagan-era apostasy.

But many arms-control lobbyists judge Aspin against his predecessors, Hebert and Price, and are fearful that he will be replaced by someone much worse.

John Isaacs, the lobbyist for the Council for a Liveable World, opposed Aspin's MX and contra stands, but he has circulated a memo on Capitol Hill detailing Leath's shortcomings. Retired Adm. Eugene Carroll, the deputy director of the Center for Defense Information, was appalled by Aspin's vote on the MX, but he admires Aspin's intelligence and is worried about Leath and Bennett. "There aren't many others on the committee who would be a plus to Aspin," Carroll says. "On balance, he's been better than anyone we've had. I'm inclined to go along with the devil I know rather than the devil I don't know."

Carroll and Isaacs won't be voting in January, but if Aspin can win one or two concessions from the Republicans in Congress, it is likely that their position will carry the day.

Les Aspin in his home state

In 1970, Les Aspin won the Democratic primary against chemistry professor Douglas LaFollette by a mere 20 votes on a recount. Since then, buoyed by close ties with Racine and Kenosha's labor unions, he has had two close calls against Republican opponents, but no Democratic primary challengers. But Aspin's MX and contra votes have infuriated his Democratic supporters and stirred rumors of a primary challenge in 1988.

This spring, local peace groups staged a demonstration against contra funding.

According to *Racine Labor* editor Roger Bybee, the demonstration attracted "very extensive labor involvement." This summer Aspin has had to face angry questions from his Democratic supporters. Rudy Kuzel, the president of the United Auto Workers Local 72, met with Aspin last month. "I had quite a discussion with him about the contras," Kuzel said. "I told him we don't have any business sticking our nose in Nicaragua's affairs."

Bybee and Kuzel both believe that if Aspin continues to support administration policies, he will be challenged in 1988. "If we get two more years of this, there will be someone running against him," Kuzel says. Several politicians and would-be politicians, including LaFollette, who is now Wisconsin secretary of state, are reportedly considering challenging Aspin. —J.B.J.

INSHORT

Rachel Sternberg

Good news

Mark Green, the liberal underdog in New York's Democratic primary, upset party favorite John S. Dyson last week and will face conservative incumbent Alfonse D'Amato in November (see *In These Times*, Sept. 10). In announcing the 53-to-47 percent victory, Green called his primary fight—a "campaign of conscience"—and compared it to Gov. Mario Cuomo's victory over Edward Koch in the 1982 gubernatorial primary. Green wants to look like a Cuomo of 1982, but there was Cuomo in 1986? Cuomo marshalled the state Democratic Party behind the moderate Dyson and also helped put Dyson's name on the November ballot under the Liberal Party tag. Green's victory cast doubt on Cuomo's political power, as the Democratic Party faithful ditched Dyson in the longest turnout in recent years. If Cuomo wants to show that he's committed to Green's progressive causes, he will have to pressure Dyson to withdraw entirely and then help Green raise funds to offset D'Amato's millions. And for Congress, in retiring Richard L. Ottlinger's 20th District in Westchester, Bella Abzug took the first big step in getting back to the House of Representatives. She came in first with a plurality in a field of several candidates.

More good news

In Wisconsin, liberal pro-union populist Ed Garvey triumphed in the state's Democratic Senate primary last week and will challenge incumbent Republican U.S. Sen. Robert Kasten in November (see *In These Times*, May 10). Garvey beat former state Democratic Chairman Matthew Flynn and conservative black state Sen. Gary George by turning on trade unions and an array of community peace and environmental activists for a last-minute campaign push that panned out. Garvey took 47 percent of the total vote, while Flynn and George took 39 and 11 percent respectively. In-state liberals were inspired by Garvey's victory. They proudly pointed to the building blocks of a coalition they hope can take back this country from the conservatives.

The Yuppie advantage

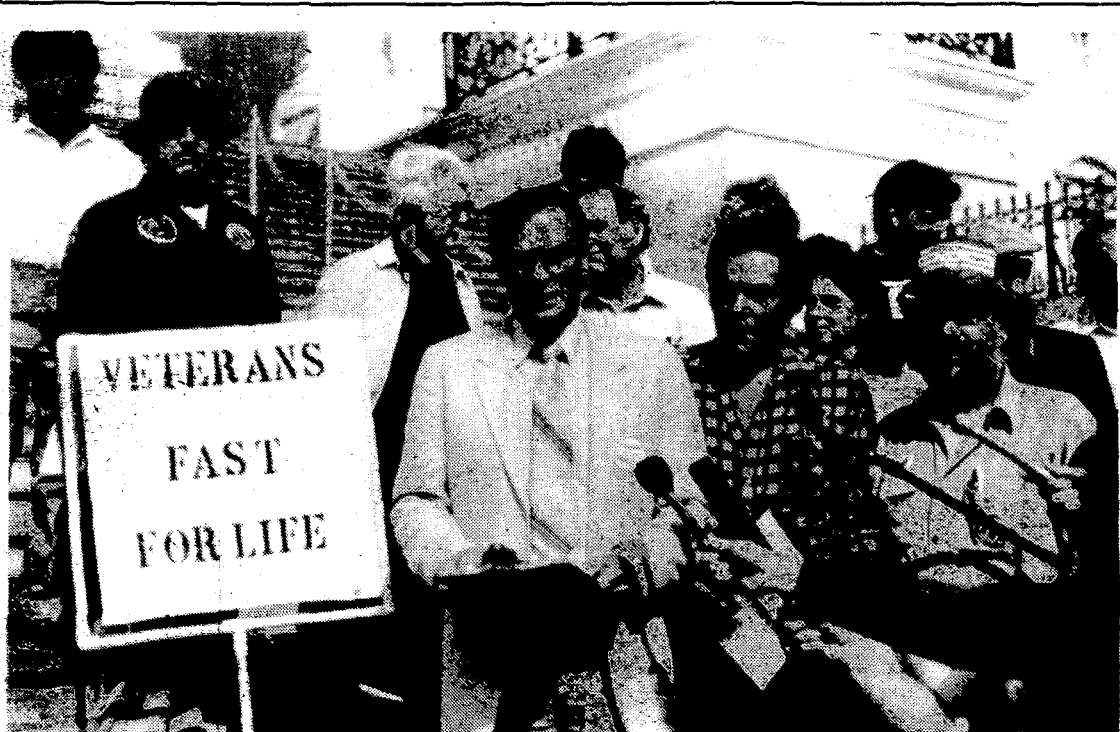
In its recent special, *48 Hours on Crack Street*, CBS showed drug dealers taking place from one end of the socio-economic spectrum to the other. The network's cameras revealed the identity of the subjects only when they were black or Hispanic and poor. When the subjects were young, white and prosperous, the telephoto lens tactfully blurred as the drug purchaser made his buy. A CBS spokesperson, admitting to this, gave *In These Times* the following explanation: The network had to protect itself from potential lawsuits by blurring the faces in deals shot from afar—and only affluent pushers and buyers kept a safe distance. The net result mirrors the selectivity we already see in law enforcement and can further expect to see in the grandiose drug rehabilitation programs soon to be announced.

Hot houses

During the '50s and '60s, when the uranium business was booming, Native Americans near the mines were encouraged to use radioactive tailings to build their homes. In Grand Junction, Colo., perhaps the worst such case, more than 500 such buildings are still glowing. Hardly a boon to the health of Native Americans—but then neither was working in the uranium mines or mills. A five-year study supported by the March of Dimes and the National Institutes of Health has indicated that certain birth defects among Navajo families living in the old uranium districts of Red Valley and Shiprock, Ariz., were two-to-eight times higher than the nationwide average between 1964-74, followed in 1975 by a dramatic shift toward the normal that coincided with a decrease in uranium operations. Mining is less common now, but the nearly 200 million metric tons of uranium tailings in the U.S. are located mainly on Native American land, according to the Alternative Policy Institute of the Center for Third World Organizing, based in Oakland, Calif. Much of the waste retains from 60 to 80 percent of its original radiation. Clean-up by the Department of Energy is underway on at least 22 sites in 10 states. It's a post-genocidal gesture that's too little, too late.

Baseball diplomacy

If there's one thing the revolution hasn't changed in Nicaragua, it's the country's love affair with baseball. A number of years have passed, though, since our professional teams played down there. And now the Nicaraguan national baseball team's pending visit to the U.S. has been transforming as eight U.S. collegiate teams decided to take their bats and balls and go home. The L.A.-based Bruins, Nor. Bombs, propped open their gates and pinned down two or three games late this month and early next with players from San Bernardino City College, the College of the Canyons and, tentatively, Santa Monica College. Project organizer Andy Liberman says the idea is "to promote peace and goodwill through baseball."



Anti-contra vets fast. Three of the four U.S. war veterans who this month began a water-only fast in solidarity with the victims of the U.S.-backed contras in Nicaragua are shown on the steps of the nation's Capitol. Charles Liteky, George Mizo, Brian Willson and Duncan Murphy (not shown) have vowed to maintain their principled hunger until the American public joins them in rallies, vigils and letters to Congress. Their organization, Veterans Fast for Life, is in Washington, D.C. Liteky made his views clear earlier this summer by renouncing his Congressional Medal of Honor to protest \$100 million voted in contra aid.

Memoirs of a woman who left the White House

Mona Charen was a speechwriter for Nancy Reagan in 1984, then for President Reagan in 1985 and 1986. Like two other conservatives, Ben Elliot and Peggy Noonan, she left in disgust, and this month she explains why in *The Washingtonian* magazine.

She expected high drama when she went to work for the president, but found only petty intrigue aimed at securing power and status. "The men who help guide the Reagan Revolution," Charen writes, "spend an enormous amount of time on seating arrangements." White House Communications Director Pat Buchanan, who shared Charen's disgust, told her that the pettiness and backbiting was even worse than in the Nixon admin-

istration, when the sense was that, as Charen relates, "the enemies were at the gates, not within them."

Worse still, Charen writes, is the attempt by Reagan's staff to throttle his ideas. "They think they're the custodians of Ronald Reagan's record-breaking popularity, but they don't understand what created or sustains it. They treat his approval ratings like a porcelain vase perched on their heads that can be kept safe only by holding very still."

The National Security Council (NSC) staff along with the White House Chief of Staff Don Regan and his aides—whom she calls "the mice"—systematically removed references to God, communism and free enterprise, according

to Charen. On one occasion speechwriter Peggy Noonan, angered by the cuts, "fired off a derisive memo assuring the NSC boys that the 'C' word [communism] and the 'F' phrase [free enterprise] had been, as they requested, removed from a presidential address."

Charen also bemoans the way the staff treats women. All the prominent women who worked for the administration, Charen writes, "have been closely questioned about whether they experience sexism while inside. All have denied it. But of course it exists." Women in the White House, she writes, "are treated as light-weights, belittled, stymied, excluded from policymaking." —John B. Judis

Atomic veterans want their foot in the door

The Warner Amendment, which effectively prohibits "atomic vets" from suing defense contractors, may be repealed this month. Congress passed the bill in late 1984 without any hearings and in the closing minutes of the congressional session. Atomic vets were outraged and have been fighting ever since for its repeal.

Between 1945 and 1962, a quarter of a million U.S. military personnel were exposed to harmful radiation in the American nuclear weapons test program. Since then many atomic vets have developed leukemia and other cancers, and their children have suffered birth defects. Most of these vets have gotten the cold shoulder from Veterans Administration (VA) hospitals. Because they are prohibited from suing the federal government for compensation for their injuries, their only hope in the past was to sue the defense contractors who conducted the nuclear tests. That was until the Warner Amendment was passed.

Vic Tolley, 71, of Capitola, Calif., who served in the force

that occupied Nagasaki one month after the bomb was dropped, began a hunger strike September 1 to get Congress to repeal the Warner Amendment. Tolley says he's tried for eight years to get the government and medical organizations to look into the problem of atomic vets, but to no avail. As a last resort, he believes, these men and women should be allowed to sue the contractors for damages. "My God," he says. "Who has fought to protect this country and its constitution? Us—the vets. And now not only aren't we getting any help, but we're being denied the use of the court system." Tolley insists he won't stop until Congress repeals the Warner Amendment. He says he's witnessed too many atomic vet "horror stories" to back down.

Currently a repeal bill is in the Senate, having already been passed by the House.

The bill's primary opponent in the Senate is Pete Domenici (R-NM), whose state contains two of the three big nuclear weapons labs. Domenici says the bill will only make lawyers

rich and won't help vets because their cases may take years to conclude. Instead, he is drafting a new bill that he says would give atomic vets the option of either suing the federal government or of getting medical help from the VA.

"That would be nice," says Cooper Brown, director of the National Committee for Radiation Victims. "But he can't deliver." Brown says Domenici's proposal would require a reform of the VA claims process, and that, he says, will never happen without the consent of the chairs of the House and Senate Veterans Committees. According to Brown, both chairs have threatened to stop such a bill if it came to their committees.

Atomic vets are optimistic that repeal will come soon. Even its former sponsor, Sen. John Warner (D-VA) has said he favors repeal. And the vets are already working to win the next concession from the government—a relief bill. Otherwise, many atomic vets may just die in court.

—Jeremy Solomon

By David Moberg

GARY, IN

THERE IS AN AIR OF OMINOUS EXPECTANCY here in what is now the heart of the U.S. steel industry. Since August 1 22,000 unionized employees of USX, formerly United States Steel Corp., have been locked out of their jobs in a dispute that could reshape the steel industry and dramatically influence the future of industrial unionism.

All this year the United Steelworkers have been negotiating new contracts one by one with the major companies. At LTV and Bethlehem, the second and third largest steelmakers, they granted major wage and benefit concessions (yet less than Wall Street analysts and steel managers wanted). In exchange they won job protection and profit-sharing that could theoretically repay their wage cuts. At National they won greater job security and gave management broader flexibility, and at efficient Inland they froze wages and offered minor relief.

Yet in a sense the union always had one eye on USX, the biggest company and historically the most hostile to workers and the union. "The union is trying to unite the many to defeat the one, form a front with other companies to go after U.S. Steel," argues Mike Stout, grievance chairman of a Pittsburgh union local and a leader of the Tristate Conference on Steel. The other companies complied with the union's request that they open their books so union analysts could see their real financial needs, and they signed on with the union's campaign to win government support to save the steel industry. But U.S. Steel rejected all those demands.

The union has been concerned primarily with saving union jobs in the steel industry. It has emphasized that the industry's problems cannot be solved by union concessions, but it has been willing to provide breathing space to companies in dire straits. It has also aimed at equalizing hourly labor costs, which are inflated at some companies with high pension burdens, but allowed wage rates to vary. It has demanded the tradeoffs of job protection and potential payback.

Managing the inevitable

The union recognizes that the industry and its employment are likely to shrink even under the best of circumstances, but it is attempting to manage that shrinkage with this combination of combat and cooperation. It might have simply chosen to keep wages high and let the strongest survive. Or it could have done as the Food and Commercial Workers tried in meatpacking and attempt to retreat to a standard wage for all—at a much lower level. Instead, Steelworkers' approach combines elements of a master agreement that takes labor out of competition, with an approach that specially tailors contracts to each employer. But companies inevitably want the lowest wages any competitor has, and employers may break out of the target range for total labor costs of \$22 an hour. Such is currently the threat with LTV, which declared bankruptcy this summer despite earlier Steelworker concessions.

It also conflicts with USX's own plans for restructuring the industry. "Their long-term strategy is to drive other people out of the business," argues union consultant Michael Locker. It has adamantly opposed worker-community buyouts of its shuttered facilities, since it wanted to shrink the entire industry. The current domestic and world overcapacity heightens competition, depresses prices and makes it harder to raise profits. In recent years U.S. Steel broke with the industry's oligopolistic past and initiated drastic price-cutting to raise its market share.

USX Chairman David Roderick recently told a group of steel analysts the parable of "one white crow." He argued that the nation needs a strong domestic steel industry and there will be both casualties and a few survivors in the coming shakeout. To prove that not all crows are black, he said, one need find only one white crow; to prove that a domestic industry can prosper, it takes



Steelworkers man the picket lines at Gary Works, which is a likely target of USX's machinations.

LABOR

Steelworkers brace for USX's next move

no more than one profitable company.

It may seem odd that a company that has been busily shedding many of its steel facilities over the years and that has taken its tax breaks and union concessions in the past to buy Marathon Oil as well as Texas Oil and Gas Corporation should aim at being the one white crow (for steelworkers a pterodactyl might seem a likelier image). There may be a division within USX management on whether the steel business is worth the trouble. But it would be hard to get out: debt is heavy, steel assets are worth little and shutdown costs of severance pay and pensions would be very high.

Reviewing the bankruptcy reorganization of LTV, one industry analyst observed, "In a sense, the entire U.S. steel industry is in a de facto reorganization." Part of that is being accomplished in bankruptcy courts and part is occurring through a variety of joint operations and investments. For example, a Japanese firm owns part of National Steel. Another Japanese firm owns the new continuous caster inside U.S. Steel's Gary Works and leases it to USX. USX financed a large part of a new pipemaking facility with loans from a group of oil companies. In California it has formed a joint operation with the South Korean state steel company, which is likely to supply it eventually with raw slabs from Korea. Ultimately, some analysts believe, USX would like to see most of the "hot end" of raw steel production done overseas in countries like Korea and Brazil.

At what price?

While USX has been pursuing policies that led many critics to charge that it was abandoning the steel business (which now makes up only 30 percent of the corporation's earnings), it has also been making its steel operations much more efficient. A few years ago it used more worker-hours per ton than most competitors; now it is near the top in efficiency. It has accomplished that by following its widespread shutdowns with ruthless cost-cutting measures.

Larry Regan, president of one of the two locals at Gary Works, said that only 6,200 workers are now employed, down from a high of 26,000 in 1967. Even though Gary

Works is one of the mills slated for survival, nearly 3,000 Steelworkers are on layoff. But an estimated 1,700 workers are employed by outside subcontractors, nearly two-thirds of them probably non-union and most doing work that Steelworkers once did. In addition, Regan said, 19 percent of all hours worked are overtime (higher than the national average of 13 percent). Most of that contracting-out and overtime violate the 1983 contract, he said.

The company has also cut crew sizes and combined jobs in violation of the contract. Regan says all this has led to a sharp increase in accidents and deaths in the mill in addition to the physical strains. USX has also skirted the contract by calling its shutdowns temporary layoffs in order to avoid severance pay and early pension penalties.

Some observers think that USX will soon close several mills and attempt to avoid plant-closing benefits.

As a result, U.S. Steel was able to cut costs, initiate its price war and take advantage of the slight upturn in steel sales to post a small profit in 1985 in its steel division, while other major steel companies were losing money. Despite plucky forecasts earlier in the year, Locker believes that the USX steel operations are probably lucky if they are now breaking even. The industry seems headed for bad times again as the economy stagnates. Many analysts, for example, believe that Bethlehem and Armco, where an independent union went on strike last week, may join LTV in bankruptcy by year's end.

USX is still letting the steel business run down, according to union researchers, since its depreciation charges are greater than its investments, yielding a negative net invest-

ment. "While USX's total investment in steel facilities is greater than all but one of its competitors, the Corporation's financial commitment to the steel business is not as firm as some of its competitors," the union reported.

It may be possible that USX can pursue both seemingly contradictory strategies—getting out of steel while intending to dominate it—if it can get its savings out of its workers, not out of its own pockets. The company wants an hourly wage cut of \$1.50 and a total wage-and-benefit reduction of \$3.27 from the current \$24.10 total hourly labor costs, according to the union. The union has offered a wage freeze and some adjustments that would cut labor costs by 82 cents an hour. USX wants to combine many craft and production worker classifications, increasing efficiency but cutting jobs and often endangering workers. Yet the biggest battle is over the company's insistence on subcontracting—the heart of its current cost-cutting drive.

Blaming the victims

Since USX has taken such an adamant stand, the big question is: what does it do next? For starters, some observers think that USX will close several mills, conveniently blaming "strikers," and will attempt to avoid plant-closing benefits.

"I think they're going to try something dramatic," Locker speculates. "Maybe try to run one of their plants with strikebreakers and management personnel." Gary Works is a likely target. There's a large pool of unemployed steelworkers as potential strikebreakers. Already, for a brief time at the start of the lockout, extra managerial personnel were brought in to try to run part of the operation. Regan discovered a company invoice for tear gas—which management claimed was a mistake and would be returned. And dozens of picketers have already been arrested in skirmishes over placement of a picket line.

If USX tried to demoralize union members and break the strike, it would be an epochal step in the breakdown of tolerance of unions by major industrial companies. If USX succeeds with its demands, it will be in a position to accelerate its price competition, driving its weaker competitors closer to bankruptcy.

Steelworkers and USX now are clashing in part over alternative ways to restructure the steel industry, and both contrast with the market chaos and scattershot governmental policies of recent years. But Stout, speaking for the Tristate Commission

Continued on page 22

**John Lewis will face
Republican Portia Scott in
the November election.**



Lewis work ethic triumphs over Bond image in Georgia

By Salim Muwakkil

ATLANTA

JOHAN LEWIS' UPSET VICTORY OVER Julian Bond in the September 2 Democratic runoff for Georgia's 5th Congressional District may have confounded the experts, but it was no surprise to Patricia Way. The 25-year-old word processor clerk, who moved here from rural Georgia in 1983, said she never once considered voting for anyone else. "Lewis is so honest and so down-to-earth, I can't understand why he was ever considered the underdog," she said. It was a surge from black voters like Way, coupled with a huge bloc of white votes, that gave Lewis his victory.

The down-to-earth qualities that attracted Way to Lewis were among the most important reasons for his underdog status. In a race that pit two luminaries of the civil rights movement against each other, Bond's light seemed to shine the brightest. At least that was the conventional wisdom.

Clash of styles

Articulate, attractive and urbane, Bond, the son of an academic dean, embodies the best qualities of Atlanta's (light-skinned) black elite—the celebrated strata from which much of the city's political leadership has emerged. He was tagged a genuine *wunderkind* following his national emergence in

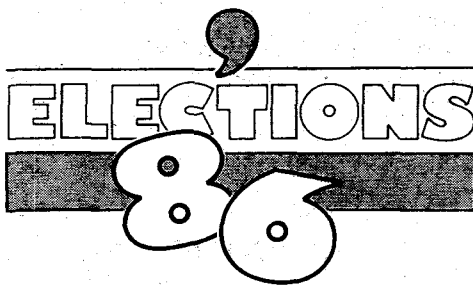
1966 (when Bond was denied a duly-elected seat in the Georgia legislature for his opposition to the Vietnam War) and much was expected of him. In 1968 he was symbolically nominated for vice president at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. For nearly 20 years, however, he's limited his political horizons to the Georgia state house, where he's served as senator. Yet Bond has maintained his national profile through many speaking engagements at venues across the country.

Lewis is short, balding and somewhat inelegant in manner. His father was an Alabama sharecropper and Lewis' speech patterns reflect these roots. He is also a tireless worker and a strikingly original politician, whose energy and dogged integrity are widely admired. He and Bond, both 46, are two of the founders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—SNCC; both are battle-scarred veterans of the days when good ol' boys trained their dogs to go for the testicles of those "outside agitators" who came to upset the South's racial status quo. Even then, Lewis was the one in the field.

Since 1981 he has been a member-at-large of the Atlanta City Council where he has regularly drawn fire from some of his council colleagues for his insistent sponsorship of ethics reforms. In the late '70s he served in the Carter administration as director of domestic operations at Action, the

federal agency for volunteer service.

Many attribute Lewis' runoff victory to his affinity for field work. He assiduously worked the city's disparate neighborhoods, shaking hands and projecting earnestness.



**Lewis' upset
victory was
ascribed to an odd
coalition of
upper-income
whites and low-
income blacks.**

"It was John Lewis' 'work ethic' campaign that won it for him," said Eddie Williams, president of the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, a center for research on black politics. Lewis presented himself as a politician who is uncommonly attentive to his constituents and he contrasted that with Bond's globe-hopping and record of absenteeism.

Margin of victory

Lewis won the election with nearly 52 percent of the vote. In the August 12 primary election Lewis garnered only 35 percent of the vote, while Bond won 47 percent. Two other primary candidates split the difference and forced the runoff. Lewis' victory three weeks later was ascribed to a coalition between white voters (who gave Lewis 80 percent of their vote) and a number of black (mostly low-income) voters who shifted to Lewis after the primary. In the November general election, Lewis will face Republican Portia Scott, who was managing editor of the black-owned *Atlanta Daily World* before taking a leave of absence to run for office. Scott is the daughter of C.A. Scott, the *World* publisher.

Thus, no matter who wins in November, a black representative is assured and will be the first black legislator from the deep South since Andrew Young left the office in 1977 to become U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. This is Lewis' second try for the congressional seat. He was defeated by Wyche Fowler in a special runoff in 1977 following Young's resignation.

Some analysts argued that the shift in black votes from Bond in the primary to Lewis in the runoff indicates the growing maturity of the black electorate. "In the past, black voters have tended to rally around the frontrunner, a habit acquired in the days when blacks were a minority and had to vote in a bloc to make their voices heard," said Frederick Allen, political columnist for the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. According to Allen, when Bond carried the black vote by a 2-to-1 margin in the primary, most pundits predicted he "would solidify or even enhance his strength in the runoff and that Lewis would be written off as the 'white' candidate." Instead, Allen explained, Lewis gained strength in black precincts, especially in poorer neighborhoods. This is a new pattern in black voting behavior.

But this kind of voting behavior has become almost axiomatic among white voters in the state: a frontrunner's margin is highest in the primary, and if a challenger can force a runoff that margin will frequently drop to provide the challenger with an opportunity for victory. In political contests in which race is not a central issue, black bloc voting may be a habit of the past.

But it was white bloc voting that put Lewis over the top. White registered voters represent 40 percent of the 5th's total number and whites voted overwhelmingly for the man they considered the most "moderate" candidate, just as black voters used to do in a racist yesteryear. Many whites perceived Bond as a radical black leader, with positions too extreme for the gentle sensibilities and conservative traditions of the South.

Although Lewis' positions on the issues were not much different from those of Bond, his conciliatory style served to obscure the similarity. He was also deliberately vague on many issues. During the four runoff debates, for example, Lewis was either unable or unwilling to offer any detail on his political views.

Class divisions?

Bond carried the overall black vote, but the city's less affluent black voters demonstrated a decisive preference for Lewis. Robert Brisbane, professor emeritus of political science at Atlanta's Morehouse College, told the *New York Times* the vote represented a small-scale, black class division. "I know perfectly well that the so-called lower-class blacks identified with John," he said. "And whatever sympathy vote there was went to John because he represented the underdog. Lower-class blacks could even identify with his speech."

Yet others see the black defections from Bond as just an indication of turf jealousy. "Atlanta is becoming a city of black carpetbaggers," said Ibrahim Serajaddin, a graphic designer and a transplanted Chicagoan, "and many of them felt isolated and locked out of power by the civil rights elite among whom Bond is a leading figure. And, though Lewis shares that pedigree, he's managed to distance himself from it and these disgruntled carpetbaggers chose to protest their exclusion by voting for Lewis."

Indeed, Lewis went out of his way to portray himself as an opponent and victim of the city's black establishment. He focused much of his criticism on Bond's poor attendance record in the state senate. Bond was frequently absent, Lewis said, because he was too busy cultivating his celebrity to pay much attention to the quotidian affairs of the state. He charged Bond was running for Congress merely to boost his national popularity.

And by disparaging Bond for his national effort to keep black issues on the front burner, Lewis was also attacking, by extension, the city's black establishment—Mayor Andrew Young, City Council President Marvin Arlington, former Mayor Maynard Jackson, Fulton County Commission Chairman Michael Lomax and political operative David Franklin, among others. This enhanced his image as a candidate of independence and integrity while playing on the inchoate sense of frustrations that many blacks feel about the growing insulation of the city's black power structure.

"The black community can't point to anything that Atlanta's black leadership, including two black mayors over 14 years, has done for us," complained State Rep. Billy McKinney, a Lewis supporter. "Our community needs jobs and economic development, and we don't have anything to point to for all this black power we have."

For purposes of their own, some are exaggerating the alleged black class divisions in the city. Voter turnout was a mere 26 percent and most of the blacks who voted

were, as usual, those with an economic stake in the system. Many of the purportedly disenchanted lower classes didn't vote at all, and in a random survey of blacks in a low-income southside housing project, many displayed a stunning lack of interest in the election.

Essie Watkins, a great-grandmother in her early 60s, said she was interested in the race, but didn't vote because she thought Bond would win easily. "I think Julian Bond is a real fine man and an outstanding representative of the black race," she said. "I really wanted him to be the one to go to Washington because Lewis embarrasses me."

Pernell Nash and Frank Jackson didn't vote either. Nash said he wasn't aware that there was an important election, and anyway, he's never registered to vote. Jackson said he would have voted, but thought Bond was a shoo-in. When asked if they thought Bond or Young were elitists who are out of touch with the black community, the two men said no, emphatically.

Sympathy for the dullard

Bond was clearly the most polished and knowledgeable candidate, but several observers noted that he sometimes seemed smug and arrogant. In the debates, for example, Bond's comparative eloquence came across to many as a kind of verbal bullying. People seemed to feel sympathy for Lewis' lack of verbal facility.

"Bond, with his wonderfully glib and penetrating rap, made Lewis look like a dullard during the debates," said John Fleming, managing editor of *Georgia Trends*, an Atlanta-based monthly. "But in a funny way Lewis benefitted by doing poorly. Bond was funny and flip, while Lewis was earnest and ethical. Lewis stands for a kind of moral power and propriety. Bond sometimes gives the impression that politics are a bit beneath him."

And then there was Lewis' "great piss-off" challenge, in which he underwent a urinalysis for drugs and challenged Bond

to do likewise. Bond declined, charging the notion was constitutionally repugnant as well as beside the point. "I thought the drug test challenge would rebound against Lewis," Fleming said. "He was opening himself up to charges of rank opportunism. But somehow he turned it to his favor."

Healing the wounds

Many Bond supporters are still angry at Lewis' campaign tactics, which one supporter described as "dirty, gratuitous and per-

Bond was clearly the most polished candidate, but several observers noted that he sometimes seemed arrogant. Bond's eloquence came across to many as a kind of verbal bullying.

sonal." One top operative in the campaign said Lewis turned the race into a beat city hall effort and thus diverted attention from the real issues. "John won because white people wanted someone they could control," the campaign official said. "I'm sorry to say that about him, but it's true. Apparently, we're still in the era of plantation politics because John's election has been a real setback for progressive forces in this

city and in the country."

Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a Bond supporter, said Lewis' victory was handed to him by whites who "see John Lewis with a civil rights past and Julian Bond with a civil rights present."

Susan Cohn, Lewis' 22-year-old press secretary, scoffed at all the detailed and race-conscious analyses of her candidate's victory. "It's really not very complicated at all," she said. "People know John and they trust him. That's why he was elected."

Cohn, politically savvy and white, hails from one of the city's more affluent northside neighborhoods. Many credit her with engineering Lewis' polling success in the white wards. She said the choice between the two men was a simple one. "Bond was a lazy legislator who treated politics like a hobby. For example, in 1984 his absentee rate was 33 percent in the state senate. How can you serve constituents when you're not even around?" Lewis, she added, is the hardest-working man she's ever known.

"Lewis has been an authentic hero for many of us for two decades," said Tom Bertrand, who is white. He bristles at reports that whites voted against Bond because they perceived him as too black.

"We share a warm affection for [Lewis'] feisty populist spirit and his stubborn recalcitrance that manages to escape self-righteousness because it's been so courageously earned," Bertrand said. "We find Lewis' passionate engagement and good sense particularly refreshing, with so much that is cynical, slick and opportunistic in our glitzy urban culture."

At a unity rally organized by a group of prominent black clergymen, members of the opposing camps were scheduled to come together and begin mending fences. But most of Bond's prominent supporters chose not to attend. Only Lowery was on hand, and he said, "We must grow accustomed in a majority black community to contests between friends and comrades, and not let those contests divide us." ■

Path-Breaking Books From Temple This Fall

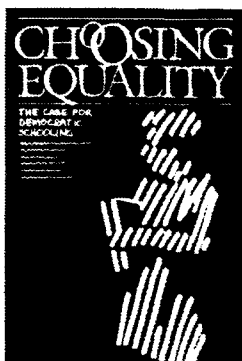
CITIZEN ACTION AND THE NEW AMERICAN POPULISM

Harry C. Boyte, Heather Booth, and Steve Max
Foreword by Senator Tom Harkin
\$19.95



THE NEW POPULISM

The Politics of Empowerment
edited by Harry C. Boyte and Frank Riessman
\$24.95



CHOOSING EQUALITY

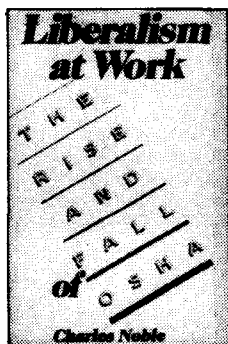
The Case for Democratic Schooling
Ann Bastian, Norm Fruchter, Marilyn Gittel, Colin Greer, and Kenneth Haskins
Foreword by James P. Comer
\$22.95

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL POWER

Emerging forms of Radicalism in the West
Carl Boggs
\$29.95

LIBERALISM AT WORK

The Rise and Fall of OSHA
Charles Noble
Labor and Social Change Series
\$29.95



Available at bookstores or

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY PRESS • BROAD & OXFORD STREETS • PHILADELPHIA, PA 19122

DECEMBER 5, 6, 7 – 1986 In These Unprecedented Times Join Us At The 2nd Annual CONFERENCE ON SOCIALISM AND ACTIVISM

CO-SPONSORED BY:

The Guardian, The Progressive, Socialist Review, WBAI-FM

Keynote speakers include:

Bertell Ollman, Barbara Dudley, Anne Nerin Benjamin Spock, Mayor Bernie Saunders, Michio Kaku, . . .

Endorsers:

Miguel Angle
Stanley Aronowitz
Norma Becker
Irving Berlin
Stacy Blatt
Anne Braden
William Sloane Coffin, Jr.
Frank Collins
Ellen Davidson
Peter Davidowicz
Nigilio De La Fuente
Don Duomakes
Barbara Ehrenreich
Kay Eisenhower
Richard Falk
Diane Feeley
Maggie Fegin

Richard Fernandez
Sideney Gluck
James Haughton
Joan Holden
Michio Kaku
Barbara Koepfel
Erwin Knoll
Dan LaBotz
Z. F. Lane
Conrad Lynn
Salvador Luria
Anthony Mazzocchi
David McCreynold
Saul Mendlovitz
Fred Miller
Kim Moody
Pedro Noguere
R. L. Norman, Jr.

Pat Norman
Jack O'Dell
Bertell Ollman
David Patterson
Cheryl Payer
Sidney Peck
Mel Prichard
Pete Seeger
William Shakalis
Loren Shumway
Norman Solomon
Chuck Sutton
Carolyn Toll
John Trinkle
George Wald
Howard Wallace
Julie Westmoreland

For More Information Call (212) 903-4029

REGISTRATION FORM

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Enclosed Find: ☐ \$8 Senior, Student, Unemployed
☐ \$12 Regular Advanced Registration
(\$18 Registration at the Door)
☐ \$ _____ Contribution

Mail check or M.O. to: Conference, Box 0716, Brooklyn, NY 11240

HUNTER COLLEGE NEW YORK CITY

IMMIGRATION

Oakdale prison: documenting the abuses

By Robert Kahn

OAKDALE, LA

IT'S NO ACCIDENT THAT THE NEWEST, largest immigration prison in the country was built here. With an unemployment rate of 30 percent, Oakdale's administrative district, Allen Parish, has the highest unemployment rate in Louisiana, the state with the nation's highest unemployment rate.

Oakdale is the only immigration prison run for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons (BOP). The prison has a capacity of 1,000 and an emergency capacity of 6,000. In the event of an "immigration emergency" (such as might follow a full-scale war in Central America?), up to 5,000 people can be held at the Oakdale facility in tents.

The mayor of Oakdale, George Mowad, lobbied hard for bringing the \$17 million prison to his town. He said that the prison would lead to "the economic rebirth of Oakdale and Allen Parish." Immigration prisons are "a recession-proof industry," Mowad said, because if the U.S. economy suffers, so will the economy of the rest of the world. He claimed that will lead to more undocumented persons coming to this country, which will lead to more employment for Oakdale. The mayor's hard sell worked; Oakdale opened in mid-April (see *In These Times*, March 19).

Oakdale's mood soured only slightly when fewer than half of the 325 prison jobs were given to local residents. Most of them were taken by BOP and INS employees transferred in from out of state. Nor did Oakdale lose faith when Mayor Mowad was indicted by a grand jury on July 15 on a charge of public-contract fraud.

Mowad is accused of using city work crews to install and improve a sewer line to a new housing development in which he holds an interest. Mowad admits that the houses are being built "primarily" to serve prison employees. His trial is set for November 10.

The mayor is not the only one who has had problems with Oakdale prison. The undocumented people inside can call upon only one law office in Oakdale for free legal services, Oakdale Legal Assistance (OLA). OLA's sole staff attorney, Tracy Jones, does not speak Spanish and has no experience in immigration law. But prior to Jones' arrival in Oakdale on September 2, OLA operated with volunteer attorneys who came to Oakdale for a one- or two-week stint.

OLA Director Vicki Sanford says that vol-

unteer office workers and paralegals work, on the average 15 hours a day, seven days a week, for a living stipend that amounts to \$1 an hour. OLA has assisted more than 200 detainees since the prison opened and aided attorneys in Miami, Los Angeles and New York who are litigating cases on the national impact of Oakdale prison.

According to Homer Sherrod, assistant

attorneys from across the country have called the OLA office to complain that their clients had been transferred to Oakdale without their attorneys being notified.

On June 11 a lawsuit was filed in Miami district court challenging the transfer of the cases of 226 people from Miami's Krome immigration prison to Oakdale. Prior to the transfer OLA had accepted 132 cases and

early June, Oakdale prison officials strip-searched all detainees after each legal visit—including "body cavity searches"—until media and court pressure caused warden Schwalb to halt the practice. Currently, female refugees are "pat searched" by male prison officials in a closed room after legal visits.

Former OLA attorney Nancy Kelly says



On September 4 freelance journalist Robert Kahn was arrested by the Oakdale city police while taking the photograph above. After being locked up in the city jail, he was released on a \$1,000 bond. As *In These Times* went to press, local authorities continued to refuse to provide Kahn or his attorney with a copy of the charges against him. The photograph was taken at the service entrance to Oakdale prison.

warden of Oakdale prison, 4,579 people were "processed in and out" of the prison in its first four months of operation. Vicki Sanford estimates that 40 percent of Oakdale's detainees are Salvadorans or Guatemalans. She says that Oakdale's remote location, plus BOP regulations, deny detained refugees access to legal counsel.

The INS drew up a list of "policy and procedures" for Oakdale before the prison opened. The policies state that attorneys for all persons transferred to Oakdale shall be notified "prior to effecting the transfer."

But according to OLA office workers,

was unable to take any more. Ira Kurzban, chairman of the American Immigration Lawyers Association and the attorney who filed the suit, claimed that the transfer denied all 226 people access to counsel. He pointed out that the immigration judge had granted the government's motion to change venue on the cases before any of the detainees or their attorneys had been served with the motion.

Miami Judge Kenneth Ryskamp granted a restraining order vacating the deportation hearings that had already begun in Oakdale for the Krome transfers and halting all further proceedings until "meaningful notice" had been served. But the next day 41 Salvadorans were transferred to Oakdale from New York. They had been arrested by the INS on Long Island, and had been handed a list of New York attorneys but were not permitted to make phone calls. Instead, they were handcuffed and flown to Oakdale.

Peter Upton, attorney for the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) in Miami, pointed out the national ramifications of Oakdale prison. "The INS is bringing people there from all over the country," Upton said. "Seattle, Chicago, New York. They will be removing them from access to attorneys everywhere."

Remote transfers are not the only problem at the prison. According to Oakdale warden Steve Schwalb, the INS and BOP agreed before the prison opened that no pregnant women would be held there. Yet OLA Director Sanford says she knows of "about a dozen" pregnant women who have been detained in Oakdale.

The OLA office will represent only indigent clients whom OLA believes meet the U.S. standard for political asylum: persons with a "well-founded fear of persecution" in their home country. Most OLA clients are from El Salvador or Guatemala. Until

that several of her clients were deported to Central America before they were able to notify her and that at least one client was deported to Central America despite an order to halt deportation. INS officials admit they made a mistake in the latter case.

BOP regulations

As a matter of policy, the prison taps outgoing phone calls, and incoming calls to detainees are not permitted. Prison officials open all mail to detainees and claim the right to read and photocopy inmates' personal letters.

In accordance with Bureau of Prisons policy, which describes books as "contraband," OLA legal workers have been denied entrance to the prison for carrying a legal handbook, *Manual for Representing Asylum Applicants*, and U.S. Code of Regulations, vol. 8: Immigration—the federal codebook of immigration law.

BOP regulations for Oakdale detainees are much harsher than INS regulations. For example, INS policy limits solitary confinement to three days, while BOP policy at Oakdale mandates 15 days solitary confinement for such minor irregularities as "not being clean or presentable." But solitary confinement pales by comparison to other alleged disciplinary excesses. One Salvadoran recently released from Oakdale claims he was beaten by four prison guards, while handcuffed, then placed in solitary for eight days, without a hearing or any charges being filed against him (see accompanying story). Such practices violate BOP regulations.

A complaint containing a signed statement by the beaten refugee was sent to warden Steve Schwalb on August 25 by OLA volunteer attorney Sr. Margaret Welch.

Continued on page 22

Luis' descent into 'the hole'

Luis, a Salvadoran refugee, was detained for four months inside Oakdale prison. On July 31 Luis says he was put in solitary confinement. He was given no explanation and the prison guard who locked him up said only that he was obeying an order.

For three days, Luis claims, he was not allowed out of solitary. He wrote a letter to prison officials asking why he was being detained, but never received a reply. (BOP regulations state that prison staff have 24 hours to notify detainees of charges against them; detainees have the right to a hearing within two days; and prison officials must prepare a written record of all disciplinary proceedings.)

After three days in solitary, Luis says he asked to be taken to the prison doctor because of stomach pains. After being handcuffed, he was taken to the doctor. On leaving the doctor's office, Luis says, the lieutenant who had ordered him put into solitary grabbed Luis by his manacled

hands, twisted them, then threw him to the ground. Next Luis was carried and thrown into a truck and then taken back to solitary. Fellow Salvadoran detainees who witnessed the incident say that Luis was bleeding from the mouth as he was dragged up the steps back into solitary, where he was kept for five more days.

A Salvadoran detainee who wrote a one-page description of the incident says the paper was removed from his cell. This is not surprising since guards make regular searches of prisoners' quarters.

The night Luis was released from solitary he was notified by his attorney that he had been provisionally accepted as a refugee in Canada. But Luis was still afraid to tell his lawyer what had happened to him. "I was scared that I would be put back in the hole."

Luis gave his attorney a full report only after he was released on a \$2,000 bond from Oakdale prison.

—R.K.

THE SOUTH PACIFIC

Tiny island territory of Palau constituted to resist U.S. nukes

By Glenn Alcalay

IN THE TINY PACIFIC ISLAND REPUBLIC of Palau, a quiet nuclear-age drama is being staged. A Palauan Supreme Court judge there has just upheld that nation's nuclear-free constitution in a temporary setback for the Reagan administration's so-called "Lehman doctrine." Named after Navy Secretary John Lehman, the administration's policy of projecting U.S. sea power—with a proposed 600-ship Navy—has met rising resistance in New Zealand, Vanuatu (formerly New Hebrides) and other members of the 14-nation South Pacific Forum.

The 14,000 people of Palau became an international *cause célèbre* when they adopted the world's first antinuclear constitution in 1979. Having seen the example of their neighbors in the Marshall Islands—who live in a postnuclear world following 66 atomic and hydrogen bombs at Bikini and Eniwetok—the Palauans framed their constitution so that a 75 percent majority would be required to rescind the nuclear ban.

On the westernmost flank of the United Nations strategic trust territory held by the U.S. since 1947, Palau is currently negotiating an end to trusteeship. The last of 11 trust territories created after World War II, the 2,100 U.S.-controlled isles of Micronesia (which includes Palau, the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas, the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands) in the western Pacific are becoming a U.S. political liability at the U.N. Under a document known as the Compact of Free Association, Palau—which receives more than 90 percent of its budget from the U.S.—will receive about \$1 billion in U.S. aid over the next 50 years. Under the Compact, Palau would acquire limited self-rule while the Pentagon maintains defense authority for half a century.

With increasing uncertainty over the renewal of the vital Philippine bases beyond a 1991 expiration date, the U.S. has devised a contingency plan referred to as the "defensive fall-back arc." Consisting of a string of islands including Guam (a key base for B-52 sorties in the Indochina war), Tinian (where the *Enola Gay* departed from to hit Hiroshima) and Saipan (where the CIA operated a training base for the Nationalist Chinese insurgents in the '50s), as well as Palau, the arc provides a possible alternative to the Philippines bases. The Pentagon desires a major military presence near the so-called "choke points" where Middle East oil passes through the Indonesian straits en route to Japan, and hopes to maintain a base within striking distance of the major Soviet naval facility at Vladivostok.

Under the Compact, Palau would cede one-third of its territory for a jungle warfare training area to replace the U.S. Army's guerrilla training school recently closed in Panama. In addition, an airfield and amphibious base will be built on the island. Palau is also a possible site for a Trident submarine base. Robert Aldridge, the former Lockheed engineer and author of *The Counterforce Syndrome* and *First Strike*, cites the island's geographical attributes: "Palau's Malakal Harbor is the only existing or proposed naval facility in the southwest Pacific that has quick access to deep water." Furthermore, he says, "Palau is the only southwest Pacific port where a submarine commander would have a choice of two exits to prevent being bottled up."

According to a February analysis of a Philippine fallback position, the Congressional Research Service observed that "Palau has a harbor that could berth an aircraft carrier—Guam's cannot without extensive dredging." And Secretary of State George Shultz, during a three-hour layover in June, remarked that "Palau's harbor is one of the world's greatest."

Fearful of the spreading antinuclear "contagion" in the Pacific, the U.S. has tried to stomp out expressions of nuclear sovereignty by forcing the Palauan electorate to vote six times on their constitution since 1979. Last year, Palauan lawyer Roman Bedor, before he testified at the U.N., complained that "We are merely following all of the steps of democracy that the U.S. has been teaching us for 40 years. It is frustrating to see that democracy does not work in the end for minorities and for people who have a different skin color."

The most recent electoral ruse was a plebiscite held on February 21—the third roll of the Compact dice in Palau. Of the 7,000 Palauan voters who cast ballots, 72 percent favored the Compact. International observers—including a representative from the European Parliament—have testified in congressional hearings that voters were confused about the 200-page Compact, especially as it relates to their constitution. A controversy ensued because of an obscure

passage in the Compact—Section 324—that permits "transit" of U.S. nuclear-powered and armed warships in Palauan waters in apparent violation of the constitution.

A lawsuit was filed in May by High Chief Ibedul Gibbons, attorney Bedor, and other pro-constitution Palauan plaintiffs with the assistance of Anne Simon of the Center for Constitutional Rights (the New York-based human-rights group that is also helping the Aquino government track Marcos' hidden wealth). In their lawsuit the plaintiffs asserted that although the 72 percent vote in February represented a clear majority, it nonetheless fell short of the 75 percent necessary to overturn the constitution. In a historic decision, Associate Justice Robert Gibson of the Palauan Supreme Court—a U.S. judge who served for many years in American Samoa—ruled July 10 that indeed, the Compact was dead. In his statement to the press, Judge Gibson wryly conceded that he tried to find a way out of the legal quagmire, but was forced to rule that the nuclear ban was "clearly and unambiguously stated" in the constitution.

Newly elected President Lazarus Salii, a close ally of the Reagan administration who spent many years lobbying for the Compact in Washington, appealed the decision. Salii, who was elected in the wake of the mysterious and still unsolved assassination of Palau's first elected president Haruo Re-

Aquino is pressured at home and away

By Lee Feinstein

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CORAZON AQUINO IS TRYING TO retain a measure of independence from Washington on the two issues most important to the Reagan administration: military bases and fighting the rebels of the Communist New People's Army (NPA).

On the eve of her first visit to the U.S. since becoming president of the Philippines, Aquino faced mounting administration demands to press a counterinsurgent war against the NPA and to extend the tenure of the 80-year-old American bases in the Philippines.

From the moment she took office, the Pentagon put the heat on Aquino: her first cabinet-level visitor from the U.S. was Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. He was preceded by Adm. William Crowe, formerly commander-in-chief of the Pacific and now chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The Pentagon is also creating a calculated public impression that there is no threat to continued American tenure at the bases by announcing plans to sink half a billion dollars into construction at the bases over the next five years. Assistant Defense Secretary Richard Armitage testified before Congress earlier this year: "I would argue to the extent we can show that we are planning to go about business as usual and stay in the Philippines, we will strengthen our hand."

And the State Department, although generally less heavy-handed, has made clear its views on the mammoth U.S. installations at Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base.

"No one should underestimate our resolve to maintain...facilities at Subic and Clark through 1991 [the date the bases agreement expires] and beyond," Assistant Secretary of State Gaston Sigur told Congress in June.

The Reagan administration knows that Aquino is no leftist, but still worries about her views on the bases and the NPA. In December 1984, she joined other prominent opposition leaders in signing a statement calling for withdrawal of the U.S. bases by 1991. Now Aquino says she will "keep her options open" and has hinted that she plans a referendum on the base question. Although she has pledged to "honor" the bases agreement until it expires, Aquino has shown some sympathy for her more nationalistic supporters.

Last month she awarded Lorenzo Tanada, a long-time opponent of the bases, the Philippine government's highest award. Earlier, Tanada had told a committee of the commission now drafting a new constitution for the Philippines, that "the continued presence of American bases in this country creates a clear and present danger to our national survival" and "infringes on our independence." The committee subsequently adopted a resolution declaring the Philippines a nuclear-free zone. Clearly, it was intended to force the U.S. out of the military bases. A full commission vote was expected before Aquino's arrival in the U.S. this week.

In July, Aquino deflated one of the Pentagon's major justifications for keeping the bases in the Philippines: that they are necessary to protect the archipelago from external attack. "It's not a question of having a neigh-

IN THESE TIMES SEPT. 17-23, 1986 9
meliik June 30, 1985, appeared on Palauan television after the decision and promised yet another plebiscite if his appeal fails. The Palauan appellate in a preliminary ruling has determined that the U.S. government has failed to produce new evidence, in effect upholding the July 10 decision.

The termination of U.S. trusteeship of the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia has cleared Congress, but the fate of the Compact now lies with Palau. Assuming congressional approval, the action will shift to the U.N. Security Council where the U.S. will then seek termination of the trusteeship. It is anticipated that the Soviets will veto termination which they view as a form of "American expansionism."

The U.S., having secured the prized "Star Wars" site of Kwajalein in the Marshall Islands for at least the next 30 years, and the defensive fallback arc to replace the possible loss of Clark Air Base and Subic Bay in the Philippines, may simply implement the terms of the Compact regardless of a potential Soviet Security Council veto. Considering the Reagan administration's repudiation of the World Court's recent decision concerning the illegality of the CIA-led contra war against the Nicaraguan people, the administration may ignore the international body on a relatively invisible domestic issue.

Taking their lead from the people of New Zealand and Palau, the Philippine constitutional commission is reputedly considering seriously a ban on nuclear substances in the new constitution (although the commissioners are cleverly avoiding any mention of an anti-base clause), evidence that the "contagion" is proliferating. With the rest of the world clamoring for an end to nuclear insanity, Palau stands as a faraway beacon of resistance as it continues—at least for the moment—to outmaneuver Washington's militaristic machinations.

Glenn Alcalay is working on a doctorate in medical anthropology at the New School for Social Research, studying the effects of nuclear tests on the Marshall Islands. In the past 11 years he has frequently visited Micronesia and has lived in the Marshall Islands with radiation victims downwind of Bikini Atoll.

boring country be a threat to us," Aquino said.

On the NPA question, Aquino has called for amnesty and has begun talks with NPA leaders aimed at reaching a cease-fire. Secretary of State George Shultz has warned Aquino that any talks with rebels should be "not about power-sharing." And Assistant Secretary of Defense Armitage—who advocated continued military aid to the Marcos regime to the bitter end—calls Aquino's plan naive. "The [Communist Party's] continuing adherence to the doctrine of armed struggle leaves little doubt in our minds that, at the end of the day, military action will be required to defeat the insurgency," he said.

The Pentagon has openly criticized Aquino's policies while at the same time praising the Philippine military, which Armitage describes as "blessed with a great counterinsurgency tradition." The Pentagon has also foisted military aid on Aquino though she prefers economic aid: the administration requested nearly doubling military aid to the Philippines this year to \$105 million. The Pentagon is also expanding combat and officer training that it provides to the Philippine military.

This new infusion of aid, combined with the high-level criticisms of Aquino's policies, strengthens the hand of those former Marcos loyalists—including Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile—who favor fighting the rebels, expanding the role of the U.S. in the counterinsurgency and extending the bases agreement.

This U.S.-applied pressure complicates Aquino's consolidation of democratic rule in the wake of the Marcos regime. But it is not the first time that Philippine domestic politics have taken a back seat to U.S. administration and military priorities.

Lee Feinstein is a research analyst at the Center for Defense Information (CDI) in Washington and principal analyst of a just-published CDI report on U.S. bases in the Philippines.



A yellow light is flashing on Germany's red-green coalition

By Diana Johnstone

NOW THAT THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS (SPD) are officially campaigning against nuclear power and for nuclear disarmament, a coalition government with the Greens in Bonn might seem a real possibility after the German elections next January. But the SPD's relatively "green" program is accompanied by their candidate's firm rejection of any coalition with the Greens.

At the Social Democrats' convention in Nuremberg, Johannes Rau brushed aside the notion of coalition with the Greens by declaring that the party aimed at nothing less than a "coalition with the people." Green Norbert Kostede called that "a disastrous campaign concept" and reproached the SPD for lacking the courage to offer a real hope of change. Kostede called on voters to "force" the Social Democrats to govern by giving them 43 percent of the vote and 8 percent to the Greens.

In fact, polls continue to show that most

SPD and Green voters would like to see the two parties get together to replace the conservative coalition government in Bonn. If election results made a red-green coalition possible, SPD leaders would be embarrassed to explain to their voters why they turned it down in favor of keeping the Christian Democrats in office.

Social Democrats have preferred to keep afloat the idea that a red-green coalition was blocked decisively by the split within the Greens between "realists" favorable to coalition and "fundamentalists" who consider any compromise a betrayal of green ideals. This made it seem that if the *realos* won out over the *fundis*, the red-green miracle might take place in Bonn.

Since Rau said no, the imaginary scenario called for the SPD, responding to the expressed will of the people, to put Rau aside in favor of a leader willing to ally with the Greens. The happy ending would be supplied by Willy Brandt, who would agree to be chancellor of a coalition government with the Greens.

Not only Rau, but Brandt himself and the leaders of the left wing of the SPD close to Brandt, such as Karsten Voigt, have been saying that coalition at the national level is out of the question because of the Greens' foreign policy and demand to leave NATO.

Voigt acknowledges that some Greens, like Otto Schily and Joschka Fischer, have reasonable positions, but concludes that the party still is far from solving its fundamentalist problem. Schily and Fischer have happily watched as the media has turned them into star realists, sometimes leaving the impression that the rest of the party is in a state of benighted fundamentalism. But there is reason to suspect that the SPD welcomes the fundamentalist problem as an excuse to avoid an alliance that would arouse frenzied and certainly dangerous opposition throughout the Western world.

If the SPD accepted alliance with the Greens, it would be trapped into constant

defense—or rejection—of avant garde Green positions and would be unable to campaign for its own program. Naturally, SPD leaders have to do all they can to avoid an election campaign centered on the red-green peril, which is just what the right wing wants. Christian Democratic leader Heiner Geissler opened his party's campaign in Bonn by brandishing a red and green STOP sign bearing the slogan: "Germany must not turn red-green."

Considering the mobilization of rightist forces in the world today—which, according to latest news from Stockholm, may be implicated in the assassination of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme—SPD fear of alliance with the Greens is not only understandable but may also be wise.

The SPD, as Hamburg Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi put it, aims at winning a "key position" that would make it impossible for the present conservative coalition of Free Democrats and Christian Democrats to form a government without the SPD. By implication, this raises the possibility of a new Grand Coalition between the SPD and the Christian Democrats.

Sliding continuum

Yet the Greens fear that such a "red-black" coalition would squeeze out room for dissent. The party's novel and peculiar political function makes the question of what is realistic far from obvious and simple. The Greens occupy an uncomfortably sliding continuum of political responsibility between social protest movements and parliament. The party was formed as a transmission belt from the new social movements to policy-making institutions. Thus when the Greens get together to define their program they tend to statements of ultimate purpose characteristic of social movements, each of which tends to stick to maximal demands concerning its special issue, whether nuclear power, NATO, abortion, animal protection or opposition to genetic engineering.

Yet the Greens know perfectly well that their Utopian programs cannot be translated into government policy under present circumstances. So in practice they often are surprisingly flexible and pragmatic. They are acutely aware of the weaknesses of their economic program, aimed at "revising industrial society," and foresee a long process



Otto Schily

Joschka Fischer

of small steps. Some of these are very concrete, such as the proposal to reduce the milk surplus by 3 percent by paying farmers to feed cow's milk directly to calves instead of converting tons of surplus milk into calf feed, as is now done at a huge loss to taxpayers.

The Greens' continuum of responsibility goes from preventing despair, cynicism, violence and resignation among movement protesters to putting pressure on the most powerful authorities to do something. The "crisis of democracy" is real in the West today, where people—especially the young—feel powerless to influence those politicians who follow the bidding of banks and other obscure economic powers against the majority's will. The Greens believe they must not only support, if possible, an anti-nuclear SPD against pro-nuclear conservatives, but also prevent anti-nuclear demonstrations from being abandoned to marginalized young people who accept the game of "violence" proposed implicitly by over-armed police.

All of this is difficult and tricky. If the Greens abandoned their total opposition to nuclear power, they would lose all credibility with the young protesters they are trying to influence when they warn that the pro-nuclear government of Bavaria invites violent clashes in order to criminalize the growing anti-nuclear movement.

Green realist Hubert Kleinert describes the party's future task as "squaring the circle"—to remain unconventional and incalculable, and yet propose and even put through plausible alternatives as part of a "strategy of radical system reform" that does not suffer the fate of old social-democratic reformism. Kleinert notes the need to strengthen German democracy by overcoming the old German tradition of excluding minorities. This is "one of the most important tasks for a radical democratic party of minorities like the Greens," he says.

One strong point of Green realism is this ability to think about what they can do as a radical reformist minority party, and not get carried away with illusions of being a potential majority. Green realism may include cool recognition of the fact that one SPD aim is to get rid of the Greens as a party. The Social Democrats would then conveniently adopt some Green issues, hopefully many Green voters and perhaps even a few well-known Green realists.

Green goals

The Greens' electoral goal is, first of all, to get back into the Bundestag by garnering at least 5 percent of the vote. Next, they want to prevent the SPD from joining a "grand coalition," perhaps by providing the SPD with an alternative. A strategic paper approved in June by Bremen Greens pointed out, more realistically than some realists have noted, that this alternative cannot be a Bonn coalition government between the SPD and the Greens—because SPD leaders rule it out and because it would not reflect the real relationship of forces in West Germany.

A red-green coalition would make sense, the Bremen Greens said, "only as an offensive reform project built on the conscious approval of a clear majority of the population, rather than on a surprise coup after the election." They warned against the "illusion that with perhaps 6 percent of the vote, the Greens could play power poker with the SPD in order to put their stamp on government policy on the model of the FDP (Free Democratic Party, the liberals). This idea is illusory because it confuses vote potential with social power. The FDP embodies more than 4-7 percent of the votes; its policy is bound up with the interests of socially strong groups on the one hand; on the other it expresses the dominant trends of capitalist modernization and the freeing of the market economy from the 'chains' of social welfare and bureaucratic regulation."

The Bremen strategists, including former Bundestag fraction spokeswoman Marie-Luise Beck-Oberdorf, pointed out that the social and political base of a red-green coalition "would at this time be much too

narrow to withstand the national and international political and economic pressure that would be brought to bear against such a government." The Federal Republic of Germany, they noted, "plays a significant role in the European Community, in the clique of the seven strongest industrial nations and in NATO. A Green programmatic influence on international economic policy or on NATO would set off a domestic and international crisis that we could not at present withstand."

Power of custom, power of capital

A serious red-green program, the Bremen strategists said, "could be undertaken only against the power of custom as well as against the power of capital, of the military establishment, of the civil service, of the courts as well as against strong resistance in the labor unions. For this there is not even a majority in the SPD, let alone an active social base to carry it on. An SPD-Green government that in 1987 called for withdrawal of U.S. medium-range missiles, that shook U.S. bases in the FRG, that blocked the nuclear industry, that began an aggressive and egalitarian tax and social policy, that tried to "unpoison" the chemical industry, that extended trade union and shop stewards codetermination rights to new techniques and investments—such a government would fail even more miserably than the recent French reform coalition of Socialists and Communists, and with catastrophic social consequences."

This is surely realistic. But the reference to the French experience is a reminder that simply abandoning proclaimed left goals is not very good for the left either.

Thus the Bremen Greens proposed "distanced support" of a minority SPD government, setting only minimal conditions: the SPD must carry out some specific measures different from the conservatives, such as stopping the fast breeder nuclear reactor program. Since this is in the SPD program, it is not asking too much.

Such an approach, the Bremen Greens argue, would favor development of a public debate of the issues, which would be salutary for the Greens themselves, "forcing them to confront their programmatic positions with social reality."

The Greens have recently displayed their pragmatism regarding the principle of rotation, so sacred to their tenets that the first batch of Green Bundestag members elected in early 1983 was mercilessly set aside in the middle of their four-year term to make way for a second wave. Although an unyielding fundamentalist on most Green principles, Petra Kelly refused to rotate and stayed out her four-year term along with her close friend, retired Gen. Gerd Bastian, who had left the party earlier but later came back.

The Bavarian Greens' punishment of Kelly for her insubordination has been mild. The lesser lights for whom Kelly and Bastian refused to rotate were put at the head of the state list of candidates for the January elections. But Kelly herself got the number five spot, which gives her a fighting

chance for a second four-year term.

Characteristically, the Green remain attached in principle to rotation but in practice they are adjusting to the fact that they need candidates with experience and a public reputation. Almost all the prominent Bundestag members have been renominated, mostly high enough on the lists to get back to Bonn. The alternating women and men candidates on the big North Rhine-Westphalia list are headed by former fraction spokespeople Antje Vollmer and Otto Schily, with several other incumbents following.

What really makes the Greens "unfit to govern," as the other parties claim, is their opposition to NATO. SPD foreign policy specialist Karsten Voigt wrote last winter

One of the Greens' new candidates, who occupies the safe number two spot on the Baden-Württemberg list, is former Bundeswehr Col. Alfred Mechttersheimer. His peace research institute near Munich has been a main think tank for the peace movement. Mechttersheimer refuses to join the Green Party because there are Social Democrats at his institute. He represents an interesting point on the Greens' continuum between movement and policy-making. Mechttersheimer retains the grooming of his previous military career, yet warns that "glorification of the military is a spiritual precursor of war."

He is one of the "value conservatives" that the Greens have put on their candidate lists, to avoid being isolated as ultra-leftists,

The Greens fear that such a 'red-black' coalition would squeeze out room for dissent. But they know that their utopian programs cannot be translated into government policy under present circumstances. So in practice they are often surprisingly flexible and pragmatic.

to his Green counterpart Torsten Lange that "the Greens' consent to NATO membership is the precondition for any eligibility of the Greens to join a government coalition at the federal level." This aroused some debate among the Greens, since it is obvious that for the foreseeable future West Germany's NATO membership cannot be seriously challenged. But the Greens consider it their responsibility to raise the NATO issue as a matter of political consciousness-raising. At their Hannover convention in May, the Greens passed a resolution stating: "We must get out of NATO because with NATO there can be no peace."

and incidentally to bid for votes that might normally go to the Christian Democrats. The big North Rhine-Westphalia list includes an 83-year-old forester, a Grey Panther senior citizen activist and a 43-year-old Ruhr police chief who wants to found a "Greens in the police" association.

Honesty and variety are among the weapons the Greens plan to keep using to avoid being isolated by the right-wing polarization strategy. Political realism can mean settling for what is possible, or refraining from saying what one believes. The Greens can be flexible and pragmatic, but prefer not to sacrifice the search for truth. ■

IN THESE TIMES

10 YEARS

On November 12, IN THESE TIMES will mark its tenth anniversary with a special issue of the paper that includes greetings from various trade unions, political organizations, cultural projects and individuals. It's an opportunity for our friends and supporters across the country to help us celebrate, make a political statement and raise an important part of our yearly deficit. Last year more than 210 organizations and individuals participated in our anniversary celebration, generating \$16,000 in badly needed revenue.

Please show your support by filling out the ad reservation card. We welcome your participation, whether it's words of appreciation for our work or words of promotion for yours. Our deadline is October 20, but we hope to reserve space for you before then. If you have any questions, need assistance, or would like to place a larger size ad, please call our advertising department at 312/472-5700.

Rate Card and Order Form

Please reserve the following space:

	Cost	Width	Length
Quarter Page	625	5"	8"
Eighth Page	325	5"	4"
Sixteenth Page	170	2 3/8"	4"
Thirty-second Page	90	2 3/8"	2"
Organizational Greeting	50		
Individual Greeting	25		

(Dimensions define borders and image area should be contained within borders.)

Deadline for ads is October 20, 1986.

☐ I have enclosed \$_____ for payment of the advertisement indicated.

☐ Please bill me.

Please print copy on separate sheet.

Camera-ready copy is acceptable.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone _____

In These Times
1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657 312/472-5700

Now in Paper!

VISIONS OF EMANCIPATION

The Italian Workers' Movement Since 1945

Joanne Barkan

"An indispensable volume for any student of the left."

—The Nation

New and noteworthy"

—Democratic Left

"The most important and informative book on the subject we have in English."

—Stanley Aronowitz

Includes photographs and interviews with Fiat workers in Turin.

cloth edition \$24.95 288 pages
paper edition \$13.95

PRAEGER PUBLISHERS

A Division of Greenwood Press, Inc.
88 Post Road West P.O. Box 5007
Westport, CT 06881 or call 203-226-3571



By Alexander Amerisov

"MINDS HAVE BEEN OPENED in Moscow, and nothing can stop it now." That's what a high-ranking Soviet journalist visiting the U.S. told me recently. The winds of freedom are blowing over the entire Soviet Union, lifting up the dirt, the decay, the lies.

The country is going through a process of genuine renewal and self-searching. But what should steadfast so-called "friends" of the Soviet Union do when the country undergoes a binge of self-flagellation? Not only does the Soviet press write about crime, drug and alcohol addiction, gangsterism, the persecution of innocent people, abuses of minorities, racial and sexual discrimination and a lack of "genuine socialist democracy," but also that for all these years the Soviet Union has engaged in a massive cover-up campaign—it lied to its friends.

One such friend in Czechoslovakia recently wrote a letter to that country's Communist Party daily, *Rude Pravo*, addressed to Soviet journalist Yevgenii Chernov. Ostensibly asking for truth, the letter writer is begging for another lie: "Please tell me the truth about what is going on in your country. I have always thought that I knew about life there. I never allowed myself to think that the problems discussed at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) were so deep and disturbing that it should now be necessary for you to speak openly about some kind of stagnation in society, bureaucratization, the need for urgent measures in the economy and, more importantly, about psychological reeducation of the Soviet people.

"What has happened and why?" the letter continued. "Is it really all like that? And even if this is true, why discuss your errors and failures in front of the whole world? Already in the West mouths have dropped open with amazement and satisfaction. 'Look,' they say, 'the Russians themselves are admitting that their system is incapable of solving anything.' The situation in your country is now also being widely discussed in Czechoslovakia. We got used to reading and hearing about Soviet achievements. Your journalists also wrote about them. How do you yourself come to terms with what in your country is called a 'sharp break'?"

The essence of the response was that open self-criticism is necessary because "in the Soviet Union there are a number of people who want to leave things as they are." In other words, there are plenty of such friends not only in Czechoslovakia and other countries but also within the Soviet Union. And it is to disarm them that Gorbachov is pushing for rapid expansion of the freedoms of speech and criticism.

A more truthful answer to the Czech's letter would have been that the Soviet people are simply tired of living with a lie. As Soviet author Vasil Bykov said in a May 14 interview in the Soviet literary weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, those who don't want to hear the truth are "paper souls."

"In their opinion," Bykov said, literature should function only according to specific rules and within narrow confines. Life outside of these pre-set limits, with its diversity and variety, is excluded because it is unpleasant, it is inconvenient and it plays into the hands of a foe, not into the hands of a friend. "When I have been reprimanded for one or another war novel," he continued, "they said I laid it on too thick, I stressed some things too sharply, I distorted too much—and I have asked, 'But isn't that how it was?' I have gotten the answer, 'Yes. One could even tell more horrible stories...but why remember this now?'" But, Bykov insists, "the writer's position should come down to one thing: to speak the truth."

One small step

This view is now widespread in the Soviet Union. Indeed, the current campaign for greater openness and honesty, begun last April, is nothing but a poor cousin of future campaigns that will come whether the present Soviet leadership wants it or not—campaigns for freedom of speech and conscience; for freedom from arbitrary arrest, imprisonment and exile; for freedom of political and economic association and the release of all political prisoners; for resolution of the question of divided families, the right of Soviet citizens to know about their own government's operations and the right to elect their own leadership. Still, the current campaign is a first step that is producing some remarkable results.

Controversial new plays have been staged and ideological constraints on 50 theater companies have been abandoned. Speeded up by the political embarrassment following the Chernobyl tragedy, of natural and man-made disasters—like the recent

sinking of the Soviet liner *Admiral Nakhimov* in the Black Sea—are being covered by the media more promptly. Frank discussions unimaginable just a few years ago are taking place at the highest levels of Soviet leadership.

The reappraisal and publication of works by many previously banned writers and poets is taking place, including writings by Boris Pasternak, Andrei Biely, Mikhail Bulgakov and Marina Tsvetaeva. Until recently, some of these authors were available only in Western reprints brought into the Soviet Union clandestinely. Now there are even demands—made public and printed in the mass-circulation press—to make Pasternak and Bulgakov required high-school reading.

One collection of poetry, *Poetry Day*, 1985, even carried a few pieces by Varlam Shalamov, who died Jan. 17, 1982, in a mental institution where he had been placed three days before his death. Only a few of his poems and none of his prose had previously been published in the Soviet Union. In the West he is best known as the author of *The Kolyma Tales*, a compendium of short stories about life in the labor camps under Stalin.

In any society, super-patriotism is the safest and most convenient way for scoundrels to make a living. But the current rise of freedom of expression has been accompanied by an attack on all those who earned their literary livings by writing such claptrap.

Aleksandr Prokhanov is called the Soviet Kipling in Moscow literary circles. His passion is war. With help from the Ministry of Defense he visited Cambodia, Nicaragua and Afghanistan, and wrote novels after every trip. The war novel has always been the crown of "Socialist Realism"—the "proper way of writing" for Soviet writers.

But recently Prokhanov came under attack from several liberal literary critics. Not only did they find no joy of victory in his tasteless description of an Afghan corpse "in turban and slippers" burning in boiling hydrochloric acid who "suddenly begins to convulse," they considered such passages unworthy of anyone claiming to be a decent human being.

Critic Natalya Ivanova blasted Prokhanov's heroes as "run-of-the-mill cardboard forgeries" in the February issue of *Literaturnoye Obozrenie*. Another Soviet critic finds Prokhanov's heroes to be "lacking the ability to feel compassion or even simply to

demonstrate normal feelings."

The new freedom of expression is piercing the armor of Prokhanov and other hacks. Prokhanov's mode of thinking—"The future is connected with ideas of misfortune, disaster, impending catastrophe"—which causes him to opt for military civilization rather than the "civilization of international cooperation," or as he more sarcastically puts it, "the civilization of convergence," is under attack. The duel between the Prokhanovs and their critics is more than a contrast between two different personal modes of thought. Within the Soviet context, it reflects two opposing tendencies in society, two diametrically opposed visions of the future.

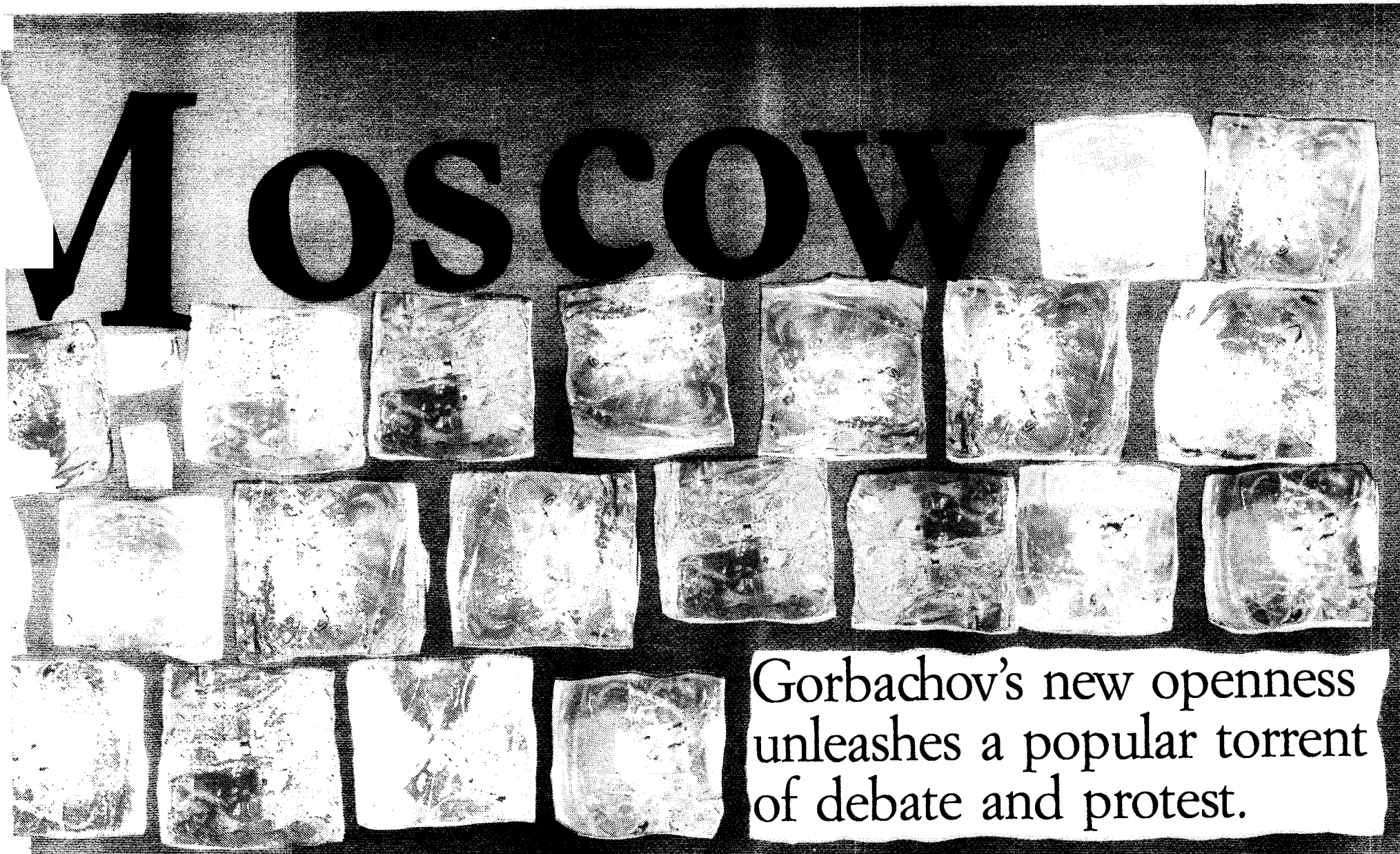
In May, filmmakers belonging to the Union of Cinema Workers of the USSR took control of the election process and kicked out

A leafletting to Moscow

By Bob McGlynn

IN MAY 1984 I WAS SPEAKING WITH SERGEI BATOVIRIN, an exiled member of the Moscow Trust Group, a non-aligned pro-peace and anti-nuclear power group based in the Soviet Union. Almost as an afterthought, Batovirin asked if I would like a free visit to the Group in Moscow to engage in a project with them.

The purpose would be to do something direct and concrete—like handing out leaflets with non-political information that Soviet citizens are deprived of. Western support for the Trust Group was on too much of a verbal level, we thought. Direct working contact and direct action were needed. We might be detained by the KGB, but this would call world attention to "detente from below," or at least give an objective accounting of the fact that ordinary people from both blocs had engaged in a unified anti-nuclear action.



Gorbachov's new openness unleashes a popular torrent of debate and protest.

two-thirds of the union's established leadership. Nothing like this has ever happened. Elm Klimov, a filmmaker who has seen only a few of his movies officially released, with the rest being safely kept in the censors' offices, was elected to the top union position.

According to *Newsweek* (June 9), First Secretary of the Cinema Workers Union Lev Kulidzhanov opened the Union's Fifth Congress on May 13 with a standard measured dose of "ritual self-criticism" about conditions within the Soviet film industry, over which he himself had presided for the last two decades. But the debate heated up when the time came for Kulidzhanov and his cronies to try for re-election. "When it was over," wrote *Newsweek* reporters Joyce Barnathan and Steven Strasser, "a rebellious faction of young filmmakers had toppled

the union's leaders. Kulidzhanov was kicked out of power and two-thirds of the 213 leadership positions had fallen to the Young Turks. Said one exultant artist: "This is our Poland, our Czechoslovakia."

The events of the Congress are even more surprising considering that Kulidzhanov had been re-elected as a candidate member of the Central Committee at the 27th Congress of the CPSU only weeks before.

The new union leadership soon announced that they had set up a commission to review all produced, but as yet unreleased, pictures. They also established a permanent arbitration commission where filmmakers could bring complaints about censorship.

But the filmmakers' struggle is far from over. On June 3, a meeting was held in Moscow between representatives of the

cinema workers and the top leadership of the Soviet Ministry of Defense and its main political directorate. The so-called "representatives" from the artistic unions were Aleksander Karaganov, who was not re-elected as a secretary at the Union's Fifth Congress, and Philip Ermash, chairman of Goskino and the man largely blamed by the Soviet press for the decline of the film industry. (He is also the film industry's main censor.)

For socialist democracy

The struggle for free expression is not only taking place in the cultural arena, but also in the pages of scholarly scientific journals and among sociologists, economists and party political scientists. It is conducted in official publications, *samizdat* and small-circulation publications, in private homes

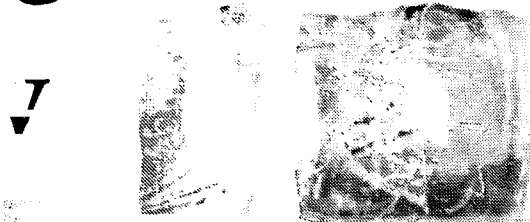
and even on the streets. It is a struggle for socialist renewal and for a genuine democracy.

Small-scale strikes and work stoppages are taking place. Conscripts from Soviet Estonia were on the brink of mutiny when they were sent to work cleaning up debris from Chernobyl. On March 31, Moscow cabbies protested gasoline rationing by creating traffic jams in front of the mayor's office; unsatisfied there, they moved in full force to the city's Communist Party offices.

An intense debate is being waged by Soviet economists over the course of future economic development. In this area, the ideological line between conservatives and progressives is marked by the issue of greater utilization of market mechanisms in

Continued on page 22

g mission



Of course, I jumped at the idea. A friend agreed to be a part of the action. Passports were obtained and we began a crash course in Russian. But the trip soon became only theoretical since we couldn't raise the money we needed to travel to Moscow.

But then came Chernobyl. The Moscow Trust Group deemed it imperative that safety information—lacking in the official media—be brought to the USSR. Our project would be to bring in educational leaflets describing radiation hazards and protection. We planned to stuff Moscow mail boxes and dispense leaflets on a street corner.

Anne-Marie Hendrickson, an American and new member of the Trust Group Center Abroad, agreed to go, as did two Britons associated with the U.K. Trustbuilders: David Barnsdale and Peggy Walford. A second team of Britons was scheduled for a follow-up action within two weeks of ours.

We borrowed some money for the trip, and got some donations. But our conduit

for bringing in 50,000 leaflets fell through, so we abandoned the planned mailbox distribution.

By the time we got visas and arranged a tour—one can go to the USSR only as part of an arranged tour group—the August 6 anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima was approaching. We would leave August 1 and return August 4.

Smuggling leaflets

The overall plan was simple: we would have to smuggle the leaflets past Soviet customs, check into the hotel and then meet with Trust Group members.

So off we went. I must say, I finally got scared as we landed in Moscow—"Oh my God, it's Russia!" Facing customs officials left many of us with sweaty palms. Anne-Marie and I, the two longhairs of the crew, were searched thoroughly.

From then on, things went smoothly. We were free to do as we wished; there was no pressure from the tour guide for us to stay with the tour. We visited the home of a Trust Group member and spent hours talking while we admired the collection of Western disarmament buttons and bumper stickers that adorned the apartment. We agreed to meet other Trust Group members the following night outside a Moscow synagogue, a traditional weekly meeting place for Jews and Moscow free thinkers.

From there, we went to the apartment of Nina Kovalenko, an artist and Trust Group member who had previously been incarcerated

in a special mental hospital and who had suffered severe beatings for her Trust Group participation.

The following morning we met Drs. Olga and Yui Medvedkov, recently fired from their jobs for their Trust Group activities; Benjamin, a Pentecostal; Yuri Kissilov, an "invalid" and leading member of the unofficial and repressed "differently-abled" movement; and Yuri Medvedev, a world-famous mime who lost his position in the prestigious Moscow Taganka Theater for protesting the arbitrary firing of his director. Unfortunately, we were unable to meet any of the younger, counterculture crowd.

For our leafletting location, we chose the entrance to Gorky Park—a popular and crowded place. Some of the Trust Group agreed to accompany us. The logistics were mapped out on paper and then ripped up and discarded. Some conversations had to be held out of the apartment for fear of wiretaps.

We left separately in teams and later regrouped at the park. Peggy, David, Anne-Marie and I began leafletting. We wore bilingual picket signs that said, "Peace and environmental safety for all. No more Hiroshimas, no more Chernobyls."

A fast arrest

We couldn't hand out our leaflets fast enough. This was good because the police were close on our trail. They angrily nabbed us 5-to-10 minutes into the action and brought Anne-Marie, myself and Nina Kovalenko into the police station adjacent

to the park. David, Peggy and Nina's daughter followed shortly thereafter. We were held for an hour.

Neither the cops nor the KGB, who arrived soon after, put much pressure on us. They didn't know any English. They did bicker with Nina, however. Her tactic was to put them on the spot.

KGB: "This is an anti-Soviet action."

Nina: "No, it's not. These are Western peace activists who are guests of honor. Are you against the peace policies of the Soviet state?"

KGB: "This leaflet is unnecessary. Our press has carried all necessary information."

Nina: "No, it hasn't. There's information in this leaflet that I haven't seen before. Are you against people's health and safety?" ...And so on. They took our names, and then let us go.

We considered the action to be an unqualified success:

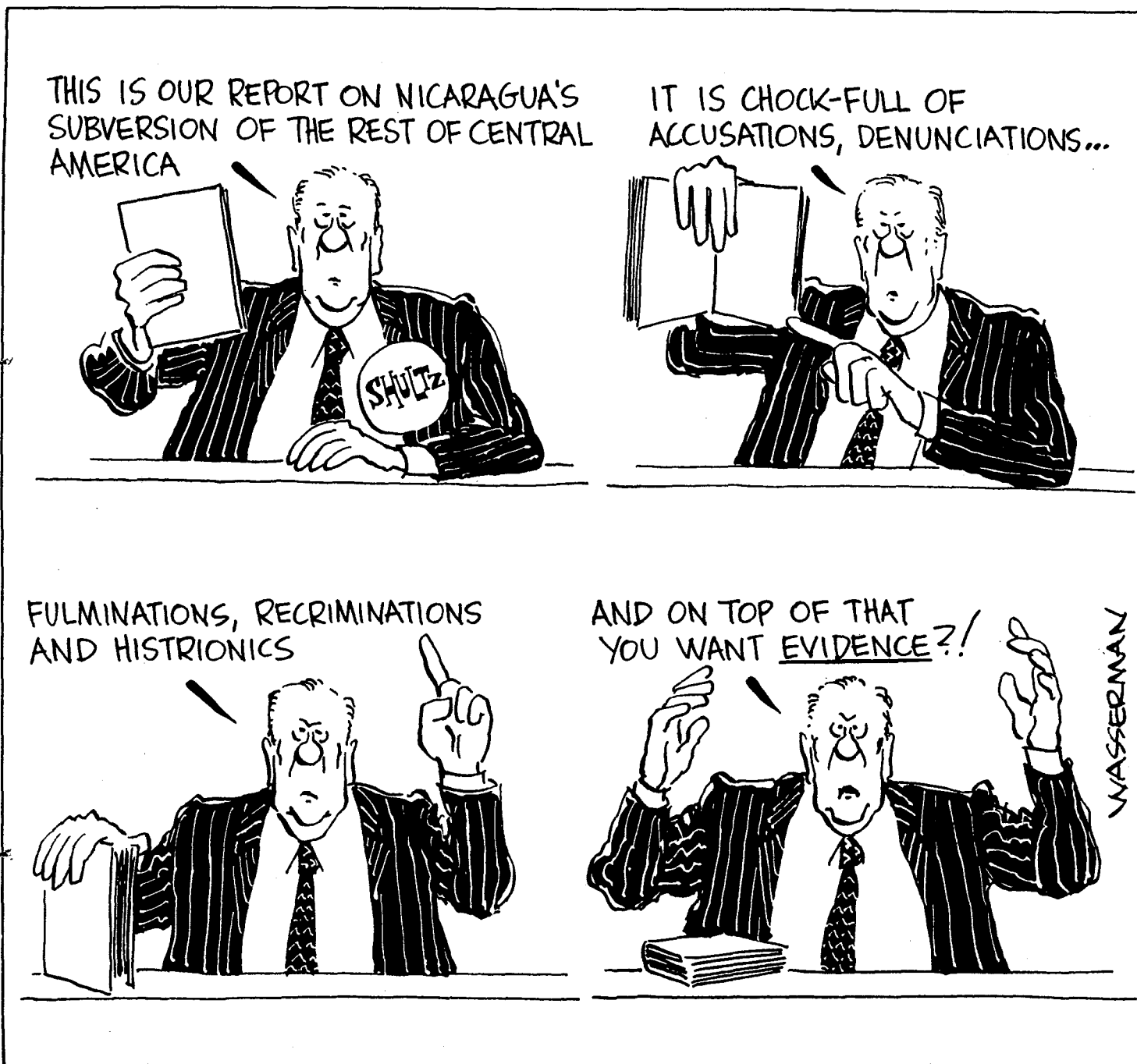
- There was only slight repression. Westerners can engage in such actions with careful planning.

- There was world press attention, and the attention (as far as we've seen) has been almost totally objective, not Cold War.

- A message got across that there is a unity of like-minded peace and environmental activists from both East and West, and that "detente from below" is an objective, positive option.

For more information contact: Bob McGlynn, 528 5th St., Brooklyn, NY 11215.

EDITORIAL



Reagan and the empire's decline

As Ronald Reagan enters his last two years in office, he has succeeded in leading a cravenly supportive media and a majority of both houses of Congress—though not of the American people—to endorse his view of Nicaragua and his attempt to overthrow its government by force and violence. Ever since the CIA created the contra army and the myth of a civil war against the Sandinistas, the Nicaraguan people have been subject to an onslaught of destruction and murder aimed at destabilizing the revolution and preventing it from concentrating its energies on peaceful development and construction.

This intervention has been justified by the administration with a series of lies and half-truths, most of which have been uncritically adopted and regurgitated by our major newspapers and television networks. When even that bastion of "responsible" journalism, the *New York Times* editorializes about "the Sandinista Road to Stalinism," it is clear that Reagan has won the hearts and minds, such as they are, of the American corporate establishment.

But what about the left? Are we on the left capable of a balanced view of the revolution, one that neither gives in to the Reaganoid propagandistic barrage nor to the temptation to adopt a mirror-image view? And are we clear about why we oppose this intervention in the internal affairs of the Nicaraguan nation?

Understanding the nature of the Sandinista regime is important, but it is not the basis of our opposition to administration policy. In our view, it is important to have as accurate and honest an understanding of the revolution as possible in order to be more effective in opposing the Reagan onslaught on truth—and on the

people of the Third World. As citizens of a democracy, we should be wary of intervention in the internal affairs of other nations regardless of the political character of their governments. And we should adamantly oppose the fomenting of armed insurrections as a violation of international law and of democratic principles.

But what, then, about South Africa? What are legitimate government actions against other nations of which the administration or the American people do not approve? What principles should be applied universally, and what are policy questions that should be decided through our political process of debate and election?

South Africa is a good example because everyone in public life agrees—at least rhetorically—that the system of apartheid is an abomination and that we must seek the most effective way to destroy it. And yet no one has pressed for military intervention, or for the covert organization of a guerrilla army—or even for military aid to the African National Congress, which represents one side in what appears to be a developing civil war.

The demand for sanctions, proposed by the left and opposed by the Reagan administration, is a demand for actions that clearly are within the legitimate rights of all nations as sovereign states dealing with one another. And sanctions would be effective precisely because there is a widespread opposition to the apartheid regime by a large majority of the South African people—an opposition that has become more demonstrative and more coherently organized in the past year or two.

But it is important to recognize that the worldwide demands for sanctions against South Africa's regime would not exist without a widespread popular movement

within that nation. The apartheid regime existed for many years without popular concern or opposition to it in the United States and Western Europe. The demands for action now are in large part a result of the actions of South African blacks in defense of their own democratic aspirations—aspirations that strike a resonant chord throughout the world.

In Nicaragua, by contrast, there is no civil war. There is, of course, a core of opposition to the revolution within the country, as there always is when a revolu-

tion changes a society's class relations. And in Nicaragua the opposition is more vocal and visible than in most revolutionary situations because the Sandinistas have been less repressive than most revolutionary regimes. True, they have censored and finally suppressed the leading—but not the only—opposition newspaper. But their allegedly more democratic neighbors, El Salvador and Guatemala, not only do not allow any opposition publications, but have routinely murdered people suspected of plotting to publish anything critical of their regimes.

The Sandinistas, on the other hand, allow opposition parties and have held a parliamentary election that by Central American standards is exemplary. And the regime's opponents are as vociferous as ever. Yet Nicaragua is a one-party state and it is likely to remain so for many years. But so is Mexico, whose Institutional Revolutionary Party has held power since it was formed. Mexico also has opposition parties that participate in regular elections, but the Mexicans are more harsh in their treatment of the opposition than the Sandinistas. In short, by Central American standards—and, for that matter, Third World standards—Nicaragua is no less, and probably quite a bit more democratic than most other nations.

And that is one reason why the Reagan administration is so isolated internationally in its determination to destroy the revolution in Nicaragua. As the recent meeting of 101 non-aligned nations (see Inside Story, page 2) made clear, and as Nicaragua trade and aid programs in Western Europe and Canada affirm, the good old days of colonialism are disappearing. Reagan came into office determined to stop what he viewed as the decline of American empire. By putting Nicaragua into the context of his Cold War rhetoric, he has succeeded within the United States to win support for a revival of Teddy Roosevelt's Big Stick policy. But he cannot go back to those days and do what Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Coolidge and Hoover routinely did—he cannot send in the Marines. And even at home he must defend his neocolonialism with a campaign of lies that the majority of American people do not buy.

Reagan has been able to cause the Nicaraguan people untold anxiety and suffering. He has had his way with Congress and the press. But the more enduring truth is that his attempt to reverse the breakup and decline of old-style imperialism is a failure. That's what history will remember of Ronald Reagan. ■

A cheer for Weinberger

It isn't often that we agree with something Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger says, but in the course of a speech to the American Legion on September 2, he made a point that should be taken seriously. As Weinberger was berating Congress for cutting his military budget, he said, quite accurately, that these cuts were being made simply on the basis of budget considerations—out of a desire to keep the deficit within reasonable limits. And he deplored this approach.

"When defense decisions are determined on the basis of a tidy balance sheet," Weinberger said, "we are missing the essence of the issue." Budgetary considerations are the wrong measure, he insisted. "Defense needs must determine defense dollars."

We, like Weinberger, wish that the debate on the military budget in Congress, and in the media, centered on our true defense needs. If it did, and if it were honestly conducted, we are confident that the military budget could be cut at least by half. That is because we believe that

the United States faces no military threats, and that "defense" spending has two primary purposes: first, it is an ideologically acceptable form of deficit spending, otherwise known as military Keynesianism, without which we would not be deep in a recession; and second, it is a way of intimidating Third World nations, so as to maintain Corporate America's neocolonial empire.

Neither of these purposes has anything to do with the defense of our nation. That laudable goal would be better served by using our tax dollars to improve our educational system, protect our environment, institute a national health care system and to improve, in general, living conditions for all Americans. A national government that pursued that end at home, and that was content to allow other nations to develop as they saw fit, would do infinitely more for our defense than the Reagan administration or its recent predecessors. Caspar Weinberger probably does not want a national dialogue on this issue, but it is sorely needed. ■

L.A. Times Syndicate

LETTERS

So, how about the Negro in the South?

IN YOUR ANSWER TO THE LETTER CRITICIZING your article on Soviet dissidents being friends of socialism (*ITT*, June 11) you missed the point of the letter. The point is that these "dissidents"—most of whom are right-wing and reactionary—want to overthrow socialism. To say that socialists should support them is like saying socialists should support the contras against Nicaragua. The contras say the Nicaraguans have "betrayed the revolution" and they, the contras, just want to "restore freedom" in Nicaragua, that's all. So shouldn't socialists support the contras? I'm looking for an article in a future issue of your paper favoring the contras.

And how about Savimbi? He says he's fighting for freedom in Angola. Should socialists support him? How about the anti-Castro Cubans in Miami? They just want "freedom in Cuba." Remember, it should make no difference that these Cubans are right-wing, or reactionary.

Ernest Field
Cleveland

Editor's reply: We'll try again. We believe that under socialism those who are anti-socialist should have the same rights as all others. If they can convince a majority of society that the current regime is unsatisfactory and that they have a preferable alternative, that indicates a failure of the particular socialist regime and it deserves to give way. If the contras were inside Nicaragua arguing against the regime as many Nicaraguan dissenters are, we would support their right to do so. We would not support their desire to bring back the old regime.

Extinction?

THE DEBATE BETWEEN DINO JOSEPH DRUDI and David Moberg in the Letters column (*ITT*, Aug. 6) about the conflict between "the individual," "society," and "socialism," misses the real contradictions in today's world. Drudi confuses individual freedom with capitalism as if we were still living in the world of handicraft industry before Adam Smith.

There is nothing wrong with the self-employed merchant enterprise. But large corporations, having already collectivized their productive process, need some kind of political and social controls. The optimal mix for our mixed economy is a practical day-by-day question of constant dialogue.

Capitalism and socialism are both here to stay in some form for the next century. The difficulty with the debate over the past two centuries is that both capitalists and socialists have assumed that the other form of economy was headed for extinction in the near future.

Socialists of the world unite, but be patient! Capitalists of the world, stop denouncing socialists for their ideology, serve the customer with your wares, treat your labor with a cooperation and consultation and there will be little need for outside intervention.

Robert H. Whealey
Athens, Ohio

'Thief'

REGARDING "SUPERMOMS" (*ITT*, AUG. 6): Why is it that all of James Cameron's movies have been outright forgeries, sequels and derivations from old ideas?

The *Terminator* was a direct steal of Harlan Ellison's "Soldier." Ellison's story has been filmed as an "Outer Limits" TV episode. *Rambo* was a simple sequel. So what if in Cameron's screenplay *Rambo* was a psychopath. *Rambo* was a psychopath in the original film. *Aliens* was an

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

exciting film but the best ideas in it were simply rehashes of the ideas Ridley Scott gave us. Cameron is a skillful thief. I'm surprised you sing his praises.

Gary Romeo
Royal Oak, Mich.

LILCO buyout

DAVID GOODMAN'S ARTICLE "WILL LONG Island power go public?" (*ITT*, Aug. 20) may leave readers a bit confused. Has New York State government really legislated a progressive experiment in which one of the nation's largest private utilities, the Long Island Lighting Company, will be socialized? Is the strategy of using public monies and institutions to pay for a private nuclear plant (in this case Shoreham) in order to close it down really "a model for anti-nuclear groups throughout the nation"? Is New York a "neo-socialist" state as White House aide Patrick Buchanan charges? Is this all too good to be true?

In New York and around the nation the anti-nuclear movement has long debated strategy. Having moved into legislative halls, organizations face choices in how to "solve" the problems corporate utility interests have created. That great hush-hush issue of American life—class politics—is central to this dilemma.

Long Island's three million residents and their elected representatives overwhelmingly oppose the opening of the completed Shoreham nuclear power plant. Lilco, the owner, and New York City's banks, the investors, are unyielding in their efforts to turn nuclear power into a money machine. Anti-Shoreham organizations have divided over what to do. Some groups like Citizen Action of New York and the business-led group Citizens to Replace Lilco advocate state purchase of Lilco, including Shoreham, in order to close the plant. This is the strategy Goodman chooses to emphasize, failing to explain the issues of economic justice raised by anti-Shoreham consumer advocates, environmentalists and unionists who want the investors to "eat" the losses.

Goodman emphasizes the leadership role of Citizen Action of New York in support of a "lock-stock-and-barrel" public purchase of Lilco projected to cost \$7 billion-plus. Omitted was the fact that Lilco's gas and electric assets without Shoreham, according to Lilco's most recent annual report, are worth only a bit more than \$2 billion. Price tags don't mean much unless you know how much the company's useful (to the public) assets are actually worth. That's why since its founding in 1979 the Long Island Progressive Coalition, an alliance of unionists, environmentalists, anti-war, women's, minorities' and political groups, including the Long Island Public Power Project,

have seen such bills as Wall Street "windfalls" and have put forth alternate ways to close Shoreham without the economic injustice of stockholder and bondholder "pay-backs" at public expense.

This costly \$7 billion proposal, backed by CANY, was initiated by Citizens to Replace Lilco (CRL), founded in 1985 and led by a wealthy real estate developer. The social differences between the "bail-out" and "buy-out" groups should not surprise readers of *In These Times*.

When CANY, after working with us on "no bail-out" plans for several years, jumped ship to work with CRL, we were dismayed. Goodman states that CANY has 30,000 members, yet there was no open debate on the issue for the members nor a membership voted to authorize the CANY staff dramatically to shift direction.

But debate they ought, for much is at stake. Abdicating on the issue of public protection from nuclear "bail-out" has a lot of implications. First, under a public power bail-out, rates will increase from their already high levels, in contrast to the public's expectation that public power brings rate reduction. In classic "lemon socialism" style, the public entity continues the private utility's pattern of rising rates, with the important difference that now it is government and public ownership that bear the "bad tidings" in the monthly utility bill. If it's bad for the ratepayers, it's disastrous for the utility workers. With high rates unavoidable due to the Shoreham "pay-back," elected and appointed officials will inevitably seek to squeeze wages and working conditions to "economize." And in contrast to arguments in favor of other corporate bail-outs, here's one that doesn't even protect existing jobs or create any new ones. Is this a use of government to be considered a "model"?

Some anti-Shoreham activists may argue that paying for Shoreham to close it is a necessity. Others are working to close Shoreham and to create a political climate in which economic justice and a careful stewardship of government's role are not sacrificed while achieving legitimate environmental goals.

Marge Harrison
Co-chair, Long Island
Progressive Coalition
Baldwin, N.Y.

The Cohn saga

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR INFORMATIVE spread on Roy Cohn by Joe Conason and John B. Judis (*ITT*, Aug. 20). Conason is incisive in exposing the malevolent and contemptible "operator" that Cohn was.

Permit me to add two things to the record. One has to do with Roy Cohn's father, Albert Cohn, who ensconced his son among the Tammany Hall power crowd in New York. Albert Cohn was a judge in the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court, and I had a taste of his judicial character and practice. In 1943, when I was convicted of perjury in the first degree because I would not become an informer against my colleagues at City College, we filed an appeal from the conviction to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. The Appellate Division unanimously upheld the lower court's decision. Albert Cohn told my lawyer, Howard Spellman, that he had not even bothered to read the appeal brief because "I was sure you would take it to the Court of Appeals anyway." (In the Court of Appeals, the highest court in New York, Chief Justice Irving Lehman, who apparently did bother to read the appeal, dissented from the majority ruling to uphold the conviction.)

I also had one direct encounter with Roy himself. In 1950 my book, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875*, was published. Somehow a copy found its way into the collection of the United States Information Service library in Tel Aviv. When Roy Cohn found out that my history of American Jews would be available to innocent students in Tel Aviv, he rose to the occasion. I was subpoenaed to appear before the Senate Internal Security Committee (McCarthy's own) to explain by what devious Communist networking I had subverted the professional staff that selects books for USIS libraries abroad and manipulated to get the books exposed to possible Israeli readers.

A last word: why was the funeral of this outstanding celebrity private? Can it be that the family wisely surmised that only William Safire would show up at a public funeral?

Morris U. Schappes
Editor, *Jewish Currents*

Omission

JOHAN JUDIS' "TECHNOTRENDS" (*ITT*, SEPT. 3) is valuable and perceptive, but lacks the names and addresses that would direct an interested reader to software sources.

Worse, Judis omits mention of the virtual bible of free-ware, Alfred Glossbrenner's *How to Get Free Software*. St. Martin's Press, \$14.95 ppb.

Irwin H. Rosenthal
Ellenville, N.Y.

Correction

In "Technotrends," Sept. 3, an error reversed the meaning of a sentence. The sentence, which referred to Central Point Software's Option Board, should have read: "By electronically rerouting copy protection schemes, it makes it possible to break any of the major copy protection schemes."

SYLVIA



MR. FAUBUS OF "NMEN" (NO MORE ELITIST NON-SENSE) IS HERE TO REBUT OUR EDITORIAL LAMENTING THE LOW STANDARDS SHOWN IN REAGAN'S RECENT JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS.



I'M SICK OF ALL THIS TALK ABOUT CHOOSING ONLY THE "BEST" FOR FEDERAL JUDGESHIPS. IS THIS A DEMOCRACY OR WHAT? WE WANT AVERAGE GUYS ON THE BENCH, SAME GOES FOR SURGEONS.

9-11

Agreement Between National Writers Union and *In These Times* signed June 25, 1986

Preamble

The National Writers Union and the Editors and Publisher of *In These Times* have reached an agreement on editorial standards to encourage a professional and equitable working relationship between writers and the publication. This agreement is in effect for two years starting July 1, 1986.

Terms of the agreement

Fees:

1.1 All ITT writers will be paid for assigned stories according to a negotiated minimum rate schedule, Schedule A, attached.

1.2 ITT will pay a 33 percent guarantee (kill fee) on rejected assignments within three weeks of rejection.

1.3 ITT will pay old debts to writers, making every effort to complete the process by Dec. 31, 1986.

1.4 ITT will pay for assignments within three weeks of publication.

Assignments

2.1 When an article is assigned, the terms of the assignment—length, subject, due date, payment, kill fee—will be confirmed in writing to the author, using the standard form attached to this agreement. The terms stated may be more favorable to the writer than the terms in this agreement, but they may not be less favorable. These provisions in no way preclude ITT from accepting material submitted on an "on-spec" basis.

Acceptance

3.1 ITT will notify the writer of acceptance or rejection of a completed assignment within three weeks of its receipt of the manuscript. Payment or kill fee can serve as notice.

3.2 If an assigned article is rejected without having been subjected to a rewrite by the author, the author shall be paid a kill fee of 33 percent of the total fee. If an article is rejected after one author rewrite, the kill fee shall be 66 percent of the total fee.

3.3 If ITT rewrites an assigned manuscript submitted by a writer, without giving the writer the opportunity to rewrite it, ITT shall pay the writer the full fee. If ITT rewrites an unsolicited manuscript without giving the writer the opportunity to rewrite it, ITT shall pay the writer according to the minimum rate schedule (Schedule A) for the number of words actually published.

3.4 Writers of unsolicited manuscripts that are published will be paid within three weeks of publication.

3.5 Writers of unsolicited manuscripts reserve the right to withdraw their submission to ITT if ITT does not notify the writer of rejection or acceptance in a timely manner.

Rights

4.1 ITT will have only one-time publication rights to articles. Writers who want requests for reprints referred to them will place copyright notice on their manuscript when submitted. If copyright notice does not appear, ITT and the writer will share any reprint fee on a 50/50 percent basis.

Expenses

5.1 Agreed-upon reimbursement of expenses will be paid within two weeks of ITT's receipt of a writer's written statement of expenses.

Editing

6.1 The editor will make every effort, including phone calls, to make available to the writer the final version of an edited article while there is still time to make changes under his or her byline. In the case of non-breaking stories, ITT will honor the request of individual writers for photocopies of edited stories before publication.

6.2 If the editor wishes to combine the work of two or more writers, the editor will contact each writer for approval.

6.3 If an editor and a writer cannot come to agreement on proposed editorial changes, writer reserves the right to withdraw the article and accept a kill fee.

6.4 Editors will respond to queries within two weeks. In the case of a breaking news story, the editor will respond as quickly as possible.

6.5 The editor will send a tear sheet to the writer upon publication.

Disputes

7.1 If a conflict between a writer and ITT cannot be resolved, a board consisting of one representative of ITT, one representative of the NWU, and one representative to be agreed upon by both parties will mediate.

Notification of contract rights

8.1 A notice announcing this agreement, written jointly by a representative

of the NWU and an ITT editor, will appear in ITT no more than 30 days after the agreement is signed. The notice will announce that copies of the full text of the contract are available upon request and that the full text of the contract will be published in ITT in its second or third issue in September 1986.

8.2 In each subsequent issue, ITT's masthead will include the NWU "bug" and a notice to writers that copies of its contract with the NWU are available upon request.

Enforcement

9.1 ITT will appoint a member of its staff to serve as the regular contact for the NWU's enforcement committee. That appointee will be familiar with this contract and with ITT operations pertaining to provisions of the contract.

9.2 ITT will submit a financial disclosure statement to NWU on April 1 and October 1 of each year. This statement will list ITT's income and expenses, with payments to freelance writers, listed as a separate category. At that time, ITT will also submit to the NWU the names and addresses of any new freelance writers who have written for ITT in the interim period.

Minimum Rate Schedule Agreement Between National Writers Union and *In These Times*

This schedule is subject to renegotiation annually, with negotiations subject to beginning six weeks before the main agreement's anniversary date.

A.1 For all freelance articles, including news, features, columns and reviews, ITT will pay the writer a minimum of 10 cents per assigned word during the first 12 months of the contract period.

A.2 For all unsolicited manuscripts that are published, ITT will pay the writer a minimum of 10 cents per published word during the first 12 months of the contract period.

A.3 For all freelance writers currently being paid above the aforementioned minimum rate, ITT will maintain its current rate of payment.

A.4 The per word rates listed above are meant only as acceptable minimums. By mutual agreement between ITT and an individual writer, higher rates or pay increases may be negotiated.

Article Contract Form

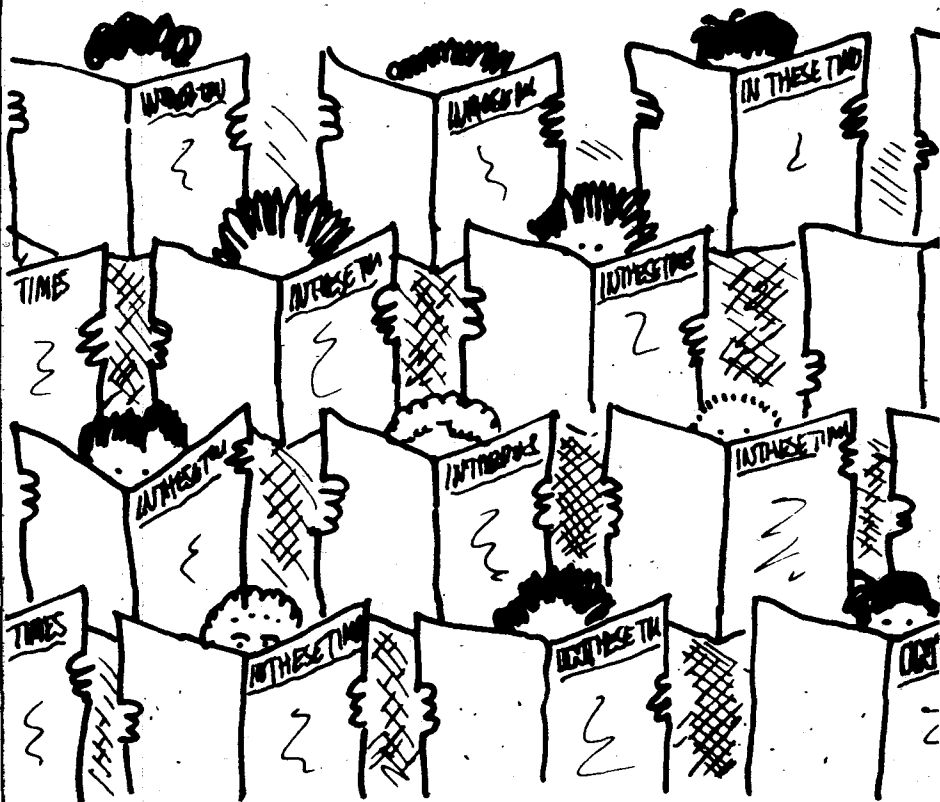
In These Times assigns _____ to write a _____-word article on _____ to be received at ITT by _____ for publication on _____. Writer will receive payment of \$_____ within three weeks of publication. If the article is not accepted, writer will receive a kill fee (33 percent of full fee) within three weeks of rejection.

*In this document, ITT refers to *In These Times* and NWU refers to National Writers Union.

Copies of the contract between ITT and the National Writers Union are available upon request.

NWU Representative in Chicago: Linda Wagner, (312) 864-6676.

PROFESSORS! USE "IN THESE TIMES" IN YOUR CLASSROOM



There has been such a demand for *In These Times* as a resource material in the classroom that we have developed a special program to fit those special needs. The program is designed to fit the **limited** student budget, the varying size classroom, and the short term need of the quarter or semester, with uncomplicated ordering. An order can be placed with one phone call or letter. For more information professors can call or write Leenie Folsom, *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657 (312) 472-5700.

"Ken Light's photographs are as sympathetic as they are beautiful."

—JOHN B. LOENGARD,
picture editor, *Life Magazine*



WITH THESE HANDS Photographs by Ken Light Essay by Paula DiPerna Preface by Cesar Chavez

The hard life of farmworkers in the United States—migrant, seasonal, undocumented, and child laborers—is sympathetically portrayed in the photographs of Ken Light, and vividly described by Paula DiPerna.

"This is a rare book. It conveys, clearly, eloquently, and graphically, what it truly means to be among those who harvest our food, yet remain the most oppressed of workers." —DICK MEISTER, co-author, *A Long Time Coming*

"For years his camera has focused on workers and working conditions in the hope of raising public awareness... with his rich penetrating photographs."

—Photo Metro

Includes lists of resources and organizations. 65 duo-tone photographs. 11" x 8 1/2" \$9.95 paper

FOR CRYING OUT LOUD

Women and Poverty in the United States
Edited by Rochelle Lefkowitz and Ann Withorn

Explores the economic and social dimensions of women's poverty. Essays by prominent scholars and interviews with poor women.

\$12.95 paper



The Pilgrim Press
132 West 31st Street, New York, NY 10001

JOIN

THE EXCITING NEW POLITICAL MOVEMENT THAT WILL DEFEAT FALWELL, ROBERTSON, THE REAGANITES AND THE VRDOLYAKS

CHICAGO CHAPTER
THE PATRIOTIC MAJORITY

will hold its first meeting at
CROSS CURRENTS, 3206 N. Wilton
Around the corner from Belmont 'L' stop
1:30 p.m., Saturday, Sept. 20

ADMISSION FREE · PUBLIC INVITED

ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn

A Thought for the New Fall Season

"The total effect of the culture industry is one of anti-enlightenment, in which...enlightenment—that is, the progressive technical domination of nature—becomes mass deception and is turned into a means of fettering consciousness. It impedes the development of autonomous, independent individuals who judge and decide consciously for themselves.... If the masses have been unjustly reviled from above as masses, the culture industry is not among the least responsible for making them into masses and then despising them, while obstructing the emancipation for which human beings are as ripe as the productive forces of the epoch permit."

This was Theodore Adorno, laying it out in *The Culture Industry*.

Crack of Doom

Crack is very much the drug of choice on TV this fall. Every time I turn on the television set there's another special program devoted to the terror drug. So far as I can see, the class politics of the "crack" cult are as follows: lots of people in the communications business, from producers through reporters to editors and technicians are hooked on cocaine to a greater or lesser degree, and therefore their "denial" prevents an all-out attack on cocaine. But thanks to the marketing genius of ghetto dealers, cocaine has become available in a smokeable form as \$5 and \$10 "ready rocks," otherwise known as "crack." Media people don't smoke crack, so suddenly crack dealers are major criminals fit to be tied to the stake and shot. In other words, the war on crack is war on the poor man's cocaine. This is not to say that I favor the deadening of social nerve-ends with narcotics, but the hysteria over drugs is getting sinisterly absurd. U.S. forces rush to wage drug wars abroad with not a murmur in the press at this committal of troops to foreign shores. At home, drug offenses that would have merited probation a year ago are getting mad 100-year sentences. Poor Kathy Smith who fixed up John Belushi with his last shot pulls three years, with a mandatory 18 months in the slammer and no one deplored this grandstanding by some judge with his eyes on the headlines.

Felix and Happiness

It's hard to avoid stories about drugs. I spent Labor Day weekend in the San Francisco area, and the big story in both the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner* was the funeral of a drug "lord"—the term preferred there over the familiar "czar" or "boss"—named Felix Mitchell. Convicted last year, he was serving a life term in Leavenworth, without the prospect of parole, when he was stabbed 10 times in the chest, thus bringing his career to an abrupt end at the age of 32.

His family flew the body home, installed it in a magnificent bronze casket, loaded same into a black and glass carriage drawn by two bay horses and sent it off, trailed by a splendid retinue of limousines, to Star Bethel Missionary Baptist Church in North Oakland. There, about 1,800 people including Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton, watched an army of tuxedo-clad ushers supervise the obsequies. Among the funerary accoutrements was a five-foot floral arrangement of silver carnations in the shape of a dollar sign that said, "The Good Die Young." Sade's hit "Smooth Operator" was played as a theme song.

The Rev. Ivory Redeaux avoided direct mention of the deceased during his eulogy but did say that "we shouldn't belittle anyone, because we all have sinned." Mitchell seems to have been a diligent sinner. He

ran the 69 Mob in a poor section of Oakland out of a housing project called San Antonio Villa, dealing heroin and ordering murders appropriate to his trade, such as the incineration of a suspected informer as she strolled along the street. Both the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner* quoted censorious comment from responsible citizens on the tasteless pomp of the occasion, but also admiring adieux from Mitchell's constituents, who favorably contrasted the burial ceremonies to those of President Kennedy.

As the *Examiner* put it:

"The man is a hero," said one youth, now on parole and charged with drug dealing in the projects. "It's all about survival. If the white folks would all get off their A-S-S and give people jobs, then people wouldn't be doing it." The youth, who did not want to be identified, said Mitchell would go down in history. "He was a man who gave everybody some insight on how to make some dollars.... Felix was the man who said 'Hey, brother, if you can't do it their way, look at how I'm doing it.'"

When asked how Mitchell, a convicted dealer, merited a horse-drawn funeral procession similar to that of assassinated President John F. Kennedy, the youth looked astonished. "How did John Kennedy's family make their money? By bootlegging," he said. "And that was just as illegal in its time as Felix's business was today. Kennedy was white and he did it in a white society. Felix was black and did it in a black society. That's the only difference."

So much for Mitchell. No one seemed particularly interested in who killed him or why, though it finally emerged that his cellmate couldn't stand him. But in a big labor town the big procession on Labor Day weekend was the one following his coffin. Like Nicky Barnes in Harlem, Mitchell recognized the importance of community relations. He sponsored Easter egg hunts, dispensed ice cream and petty largesse and in kindred fashion advertised his loyal ties to the neighborhood, unctuously exploiting his flock with the heroin that for the underclass has become the soul of a souless world. When President and Mrs. Reagan address the nation on the subject of drugs in their forthcom-

ing joint TV appearance, I'm sure Felix will be having a good laugh in the great ghetto in the sky.

Mush from Moscow

I got another call from *Nightline* probing to see whether I had any controversial views on the Daniloff case. Daniloff is *U.S. News & World Report's* Moscow correspondent, and he now stands accused by the Soviet Union of being a spy. I suppose the folks at *Nightline* were hoping I'd say I thought the Russians were absolutely right and that only the all-seeing mercy of Secretary Gorbachov, tireless fighter for peace, would prevent Daniloff from getting his just deserts in front of a firing squad. I told *Nightline* I had no original thoughts on the affair and was far more interested in the truly important case in the U.S. in early Sep-

tember, which was the murky matter of the disappearing New Boonville Hotel.

Out of interest I did tune into *Nightline* that evening and was astonished to see people talking about the performance of U.S. journalists in Moscow as though they were performing a useful social function. I have never read anything of interest from a U.S. journalist in Moscow, whose only preoccupation is to prove to his employers that he is immune to the stratagems of Soviet propaganda. A friend of mine who recently had lunch with a U.S. correspondent in Moscow was astonished to find himself being led to a subterranean facility in the U.S. embassy, modelled to look like a McDonald's. Here he met the U.S. press corps, chomping away on their burgers and realized with sickened certainty that this is how they spent their entire time. Talking to each other. ■

Become a charter subscriber.

A new monthly newsletter on Soviet society by Alexander Amerisov.

Soviet-American Review

Subscription — \$36.
Box S, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

☐ Please enter a one year subscription to *Soviet-American Review*.
Enclosed is my check for \$36.

INPRINT

Yakuza: The Explosive Account of Japan's Criminal Underworld
By David E. Kaplan & Alec Dubro
Addison-Wesley, 352 pp., \$18.95

By Peter Wiley

JAPAN HAS GAINED A REPUTATION as "a country that works." A delegation from New York City, a city that often doesn't quite work, has just returned from studying how Tokyo handles everything from garbage collection to fire fighting. But Japan, often considered as close to crime-free as any nation could be, is the home of a particularly virulent form of organized criminal activity.

The Japanese mob, or Yakuza, is a group of highly organized gangs claiming turf in Japan's major cities. Yakuza is named after the losing combination in a card game: 8-9-3, or ya-ku-za. Unlike the American mob, the Yakuza gangs operate quite openly. Their names often appear on their buildings, and some of their members wear full-body tattoos or identifying pins in their lapels. Also unlike the American mob, the Yakuza's ties with Japan's leading conservative politicians have been out in the open.

Japan's organized crime groups, like the country's giant corporations, have gone international with a vengeance, showing up more and more frequently in places like Hawaii and California. Hence the attention given to the Yakuza during recent federal hearings on organized crime.

An in-depth look at the Yakuza is now available in a new book by David E. Kaplan and Alec Dubro, two reporters working with the Center for Investigative Reporting in San Francisco. They wrote their exposé, *Yakuza: The Explosive Account of Japan's Criminal Underworld*, after pursuing the Yakuza all around the Pacific Basin. Not surprisingly, their fascinating tale takes some alarming twists and turns.

They recount the stories of Yakuza's own historians, who trace their roots to the "compassionate outlaws" of the middle of the 18th century. After the overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1867, the modern Yakuza emerged in organizations that brought together criminal activities and ultra-nationalist, emperor-worshipping politics. Groups like the Genyosha—or the Dark Ocean Society—were prototypes of modern Yakuza organization, which dealt in both extortion and political assassinations.

War criminals go civilian

Later, these ultra-nationalist gangsters played a role in the Japanese occupation of China before World War II, pillaging and plundering wantonly. During the war some Yakuza members flourished while others were jailed. But after the war, two of the Yakuza's most important leaders were released by the American occupation forces even though they had been branded Class A war criminals.

One of these was Yoshio Kodama, a member of one ultra-nationalist group and founder of another that attempted to assassinate Japan's prime minister in 1934.



JAPAN

Rising sun, rising crime

During the war Kodama had specialized in, among other things, buying raw materials from the Chinese at prices fixed at gunpoint and selling them to the military. For his efforts, he became a rear admiral, an adviser to a wartime prime minister and, finally, a war criminal.

After his mysterious release, Kodama became a major figure on the political right. He and other rightists who had recently battled the Americans benefited from a dramatic shift in U.S. occupation strategy that was hastened by the outbreak of the Korean war. Gen. Douglas MacArthur, the conqueror of Japan, at first pushed for the

full democratization of Japanese society. This included permitting the socialist and communist left to participate in national politics.

But with the rise of anti-communism and the outbreak of the Korean war, American officers clustered around the G-2, the occupation's intelligence office, and began working with Yakuza types to break strikes and harass the left. It was in this atmosphere that Kodama helped found and bankroll the Liberal Party. In 1955 the Liberal Party merged with the Democratic Party to form the Liberal Democratic Party, which has ruled Japan ever since.

Kodama resurfaced in the '70s during the Lockheed affair, post-war Japan's biggest scandal. Working as a secret Lockheed consultant, Kodama helped convince the Japanese to buy Lockheed airplanes—by bribing a number of top government figures including Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka.

Today Kodama is dead, but the ailing Tanaka's faction remains the most powerful within the ruling LDP. After a period of police raids

and bloody internecine conflict that thinned its ranks, a new, less feudalistic and more violent Yakuza with an estimated 100,000 members is on the rise.

Among their specialties are corporate extortion, drug trafficking and importing American women for prostitution. Hawaii, the leading port for Yakuza drug smuggling, also appears to be a favored location for investing the mob's illicit gains. According to Kaplan and Dubro, Yakuza's specialists in corporate extortion have targeted a number of American banks.

Interestingly, the Japanese are not likely to see much of Kaplan and Dubro's book unless they bring it back from the U.S. The authors' agent in Japan wired them that Japanese publishers are afraid to publish the book because "it touches every social nerve."

It is still safe to walk the streets of any Japanese city at night, but it is hardly a crime-free society. ■

©1986 Points West

Peter Wiley is a San Francisco-based journalist who writes regularly for *In These Times*.

Old South, New South

By Gavin Wright

Basic Books, 321 pp., \$19.95

By Lance Selfa

NO MATTER WHAT JESSE Helms and his cohorts say, today's South is hardly an example of the beneficent impacts of unfettered *laissez-faire*. In fact, what we know today as "the Sunbelt," that haven for buccaneer capitalism and right-to-work legislation, was, in large part, created by the sometimes unintended, though often deliberate, consequences of state and federal government policies.

Atlanta's glittering office towers and North Carolina's Research Triangle may symbolize a triumph over the U.S.' most economically underdeveloped region. But these monuments obscure other features of Southern society that point to the persistence of the *ancien régime*: low unionization, rural poverty, underfunded (or non-funded) social-service and education programs.

The New Deal experiment in state-managed capitalism provided the breakthrough to the Sunbelt, according to economist Gavin Wright. His *Old South, New South*, the sequel to his 1978 book *The Political Economy of the Cotton South*, chronicles the economic rise of the South from its post-Civil War agrarian roots.

Wright locates the key to pre-World War II Southern backwardness in the isolation of the Southern unskilled labor market from the movements of workers in the North and West. The plantation system gave the region an overwhelmingly rural workforce of sharecroppers tied to the land, and a smaller unskilled industrial workforce that migrated primarily within the South.

As a result, Wright argues, the post-Civil War industrial boom fed on European immigration rather than on migration from the South. The low-wage labor supply dampened Southern capitalists' incentives to diversify or to build capital-intensive industries.

"The isolation of the Southern labor market was a basic background condition for virtually the whole epoch between the Civil War and World War II, and the operation of this market affected the lives of all Southerners," Wright contends.

But New Deal legislation and the rise of national industrial unions pushed wages up, undermining the reservoir of low-wage labor on which the Southern economy depended. Planters thus turned to mechanization, "pushing" many workers off the land, while the World War II buildup "pulled" thousands of agricultural workers, many of them black, northward.

To Wright, the "New South" booster, who heralded the progressive by-products of the region's industrialization at the turn of the century, were wrong. The material conditions for the New South they sought did not appear until the '30s and '40s. But once those conditions appeared, Southern state governments and businesspeople sought investment with a vengeance—inviting the Northern capital they had decried only a generation before.

"When Southern property owners no longer had an economic stake in maintaining the separateness of the Southern labor market, they opened the regional doors to

Japan's mobs, like its corporations, have gone international.

THE SOUTH

A Southern exposure

much larger flows of outside labor and capital with the result that the South as a distinct economic entity had all but disappeared," Wright argues.

Southern governments became quite proficient in selling the South's "business climate" to outside investors. In the '50s and '60s, Southern governments pioneered the use of tax abatements and other incentives to corporate relocation that modern-day "Frostbelt" cities now mimic. The South finally achieved integration into the national economy.

One gets the feeling from Wright's account that economic development has brought unmitigat-

ed progress to the region. It would seem only logical: if the primary barrier to Southern development was an isolated labor market, then its destruction should usher in a diversified, industrial economy and many of its attendant benefits.

Common sense suggests that there is more to the story. The Southern economy certainly did not emerge as a copy of the North's. For all its development, the Southern economy remains highly dependent on natural resources (witness the recent oil price crash) and agricultural products (as the recent drought has pointed out). Though the Sunbelt has succeeded in attracting high-

tech industry, the bulk of consumer durables are still produced in the North or overseas.

Conservative bastion

Elements of the old "backwardness"—low unionization, low taxes, a "docile" workforce—now appear as virtues in state development agencies' brochures. The region remains largely a bastion of conservatism. The curious phenomenon about the modern-day South, as historian James Cobb has noted, is the coexistence of these features of the Old South with an industrial economy.

Though Wright's analysis is much more sensitive to historical

and political developments than most of the mathematical modeling that fills economics journals, he falls short in accounting for some of these anomalies. To do so, he would have had to probe deeper into the political and social forces underlying Sunbelt development.

For example, patterns of postwar military spending can help explain much of the Sunbelt's current look, including the gap between "high tech" and "natural resource" industries. The role of Dixiecrats in the local and national political arena; organized labor's scrapping of "Operation Dixie" in the '40s and its subsequent lukewarm organizing efforts; the politics of race—all of these factors are crucial to understanding the profile of the modern Sunbelt.

It's important to remember that the changes Wright outlines did not simply happen out of the blue. They were products of government and business policies, and of the

postwar South's social upheavals. No doubt, today's South would look much different if Operation Dixie had not collapsed in the midst of the CIO's anti-Communist purges, or if the civil rights movement had never exploded onto the scene in the '50s and '60s.

The massive post-war exodus from Southern agriculture laid the basis for the region's economic advancement, as Wright noted in *The Political Economy of the Cotton South*. But the extent to which most Southerners would reap the benefits of "progress" would hinge on other historical developments. Taken together, *Old South*, *New South* and *The Political Economy of the Cotton South* form a fine chronicle of the South's economic transformation. Perhaps Wright may yet provide a volume focused more completely on the Sunbelt South since 1945. ■

Lance Selfa writes regularly for the monthly *Socialist Worker*.

LABOR

Rebel without applause

Rebel Pen: The Writings of Mary Heaton Vorse

Edited by Dee Garrison
Monthly Review Press, 345 pp., \$11 (paperback)

By E. Kay Trimberger

LABOR JOURNALIST, FOREIGN correspondent, union activist, Mary Heaton Vorse was also for many years one of the most popular female writers in the U.S. From the earliest years of the 20th century until her death in 1966, Vorse not only reported on, but often participated in, every American social movement that sought greater power for workers, racial minorities and women. She was also active in organizations working for world peace and economic democracy. She was a friend, co-worker or acquaintance of almost every left activist, intellectual, writer or artist.

Before World War I, Vorse was an editor of *The Masses*, a central figure in bohemian Greenwich Village, and a founder of the Provincetown Players—an early experimental theater. Dee Garrison, a Rutgers history professor, in her informative and lively introduction to this collection of Vorse's reporting and short stories, characterizes Vorse as an American radical who defied categorization—never a liberal, a communist or an anti-communist.

Best known on the left as a reporter of American labor struggles—a career that she began as a 38-year-old mother—Vorse also saw this as her most valuable work. Appropriately, Garrison devotes three-fourths of this volume to reprinting Vorse's firsthand reports of labor struggles—from Lawrence in 1912 to the 1919 steel strike, to the Gastonia textile strike in 1929, through labor struggles in the '30s, reports on migrant labor in the '50s and much more. To readers with extensive knowledge of labor history, Vorse's essays might seem dated and redundant. And readers seeking political and economic analysis will probably be disappointed. But readers

looking for a subjective understanding of how working-class members of the labor movement experienced early 20th-century labor struggles will be richly rewarded.

Rather than a labor reporter, Vorse could more accurately be called a working-class reporter. She most often focused her reporting on rank-and-file men, women and children, personalizing the struggle with individual portraits. She used the occasion of a strike to highlight the unequal living and working conditions of wage laborers, male and female, and to show the courage and resistance of working-class people. In one article, Vorse concludes that while strikes bring economic hardship to workers, motivated by the hope of economic betterment, they also give workers some leisure, more time for family life and the time to rebuild communal solidarity.

Fiction lollipops

The last quarter of this volume reprints short stories from Vorse's other career—as a writer of light fiction about women, primarily for women's magazines. Vorse called these stories "lollipops"—works she dashed off for money to support her three children after the deaths of her two husbands.

Garrison, Vorse's editor here and biographer in a forthcoming volume, concludes that Vorse's fiction lacked psychological depth and emotional nuance because of an inability to deal with emotional difficulties in her own life: the estrangement from her mother, the death of one disliked husband (playboy, writer Albert Vorse) and one beloved husband (labor journalist Joe O'Brien), the hurtful rejection in her 40s by a lover (Communist artist Robert Minor) and her guilt and ambivalence about her children.

The seven stories reprinted here—written from 1907 to 1924—are of interest primarily for their explicitly feminist themes. Vorse stresses the great divide between women's and men's sensibilities, the loneliness experienced by

women in heterosexual marriage, the personal cost to women who live only for their husbands and children, and the impossibility of succeeding in both a career and in motherhood.

Perhaps it is the pessimism of these stories, and the lack of clear alternatives for women, that made them acceptable to *Good Housekeeping* (1914), *McCall's* (1920) and *Cosmopolitan* (1924). One is left to wonder whether the bulk of Vorse's fiction pursued such feminist and pessimistic themes. How typical or atypical were such stories for her time?

Vorse's deep involvement in both labor and feminist issues was typical of women politically active on the left before World War I. His-

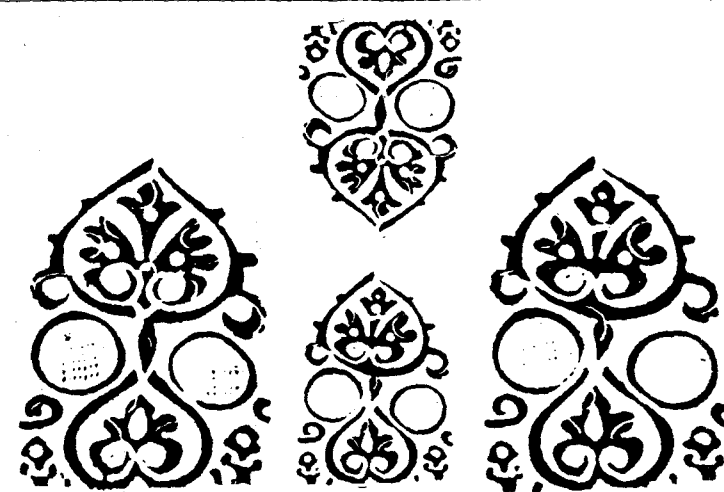
An American radical who always defied categorization.

torian Mary Jo Buhle points out in *Women and American Socialism* that the left in this period created organizations that facilitated an alliance (although an uneasy one) between middle-class native women nurtured in the independent women's movement and immigrant working-class women with their roots in European socialism. In contrast a left female labor reporter coming of age in the '30s would never have written women's stories for the bourgeois press. And a feminist fiction writer of the '60s or '70s was extremely unlikely to report on labor struggles.

I was struck, however, by the difference in tone of Vorse's labor reporting and in her fiction. Vorse, born in 1874 into an upper-middle-class, Victorian family in Amherst, Mass., expressed warm empathy and optimism in her reports of urban working-class life. Her fiction about middle-class interpersonal relations, however, was cool and pessimistic. Why? Ultimately, this book of Vorse's writings makes us want to know more about her—about the contradictions in her life and how she lived them. Dee Garrison's introduction is a tantalizing appetizer, whetting our desire for her forthcoming biography. ■

E. Kay Trimberger is professor and coordinator of women's studies at Sonoma State University in California.

NOTE B O O K



Arab Folktales

Arab Folktales

Translated and edited by Inea Busnaq
Pantheon, 386 pp., \$19.95

This may or may not be a great collection of Arab folk tales. Which isn't as much of a hedged bet as it sounds like. It's more of a formal parallel to the self-reflective framing device that begins many of these stories. For example: "There was or there was not a king who had three sons.... Neither here nor there lived a Beduin prince who had no children.... There was or there was not (is anything sure or certain but that God's mercies are many, more numerous than all the pebbles on the land or the sum of the sea's sand?) a rich man and his wife who had one son." These paradoxically self-abrogating initial set pieces suggest that the oral tradition has spawned some ancient postmodernists in the person of wily Beduin storytellers.

Of course there probably couldn't be a less fortuitous time to assess the merits of Arab culture. Reagan-spurred anti-Arab hysteria remains the rage—witness the bonanza in kill-Khadafy t-shirts. Although the popular imagination in the U.S. is running amok with visions of mad, hashish-crazed camel jockeys severing limbs for flimsy offenses and bombing the innocent on Khadafy's orders, Inea Busnaq offers instead her quietly fantastic version of the Arab imagination as reflected in the desert people's storytelling tradition.

In some cases Busnaq recorded these tales gathered on trips to her native Jerusalem. She culled and translated others from popular, scholarly and historical sources spanning a century.

Few profundities arise in the

course of these instructional, and at times moralistic, stories. Rather, the underpinnings of Arab culture become manifest over the course of the book—in the same way that a schematic of the American character might be divined in a survey of the wild mythic feats of Pecos Bill, Paul Bunyan *et al.* These are archetypal tales of prodigal sons, virtuous daughters, untrustworthy ghouls and talking animals.

No doubt a certain amount of style is lost in the translation of oral stories to the written page; so much of the storyteller's art lies in the raised eyebrow, the pregnant pause, the subtle vocal tenebration. Stock phrases, plots and personality types inevitably recur in these stories due to the oral tradition's patchwork nature. But in a sense this is more of a strength than a weakness of recorded folklore because in the process it reveals the warp and woof of culture: what is revealed—and what is hidden—by everyday language says more about the common intelligence of a people than a more straightforward history might.

These stories can also be understood as the release of cultural creativity that is otherwise stifled. For women are, by and large, the storytellers in the Arab world. The modesty otherwise assumed by Islamic women is belied here by the extravagant embroidery of their tales. Not surprisingly for a culture descended from desert nomads, these tales tend to function as escapist entertainment. And like Depression-era movie musicals, they often have abrupt happy endings that seem a bit too tidy.

Just like this review.

But that's neither here nor there.

—Jeff Reid

MEDIA B E A T

Quiche and Circuses

Each civilization builds monuments appropriate to its culture, and so postindustrial capitalism has the mega-mall. In Edmonton, Alberta, you can visit the prototype: it's a mile long, self-described "eighth wonder of the world" that puts a fantastic spin on shopping. The mega-mall offers a host of entertainments including spectacular amusement-park rides—one of which, the "Mindbender," recently killed three unsuspecting thrillseekers. Now the city of Bloomington, Minn., a suburb of Minneapolis, plans to outdo Edmonton, thanks to the same entrepreneurs—the Ghermezian brothers—who built the Edmonton mall. Twice as large as Edmonton's, the mall will feature a space and science center, 42 cinemas, the world's largest indoor amusement park, a waterpark, submarine lake, marine theater, shark and penguin pavilion, children's petting zoo, a huge skating rink, concert stage, sports hall of fame and (tired yet? here comes the travel-free tourism) mockups of famous tourist sights such as Bourbon St., Chinatown, Little Italy and the Left Bank. In short, a mad combination of the Coliseum, the Smithsonian Museums and theme parks. Can any amount of consumer abandon pay for this excess? Bloomington is betting on it; the city has agreed to subsidize 16 percent of the bill in order to attract tourist dollars. And the Ghermezian brothers are busy getting rival bids from the cities of Niagara Falls and Toronto to do it again. Other empires have found the government stuck for the full price of bread and circuses, without even the dim hope of profits, so in one sense this could be called progress. True, the solemn advocates of public education through public museums—art museums, planetariums, aquariums—would be astonished to see this commercialized transmutation of the concept. But anyone who has been to Diana Vreeland's fashion-shows-as-art-exhibits at the Met in New York is prepared for the mall-merger of commerce and culture. Pity, however, the poor child delivered into the mega-mall, where what once passed as educational display—science museum, zoo, vistas of foreign cultures—are turned into a three-dimensional circus of consumer pleasure.

What You See

Nobody's more aware that the media shapes expectations than journalists, and that's why the Los Angeles chapter of the Society of Professional Journalists has mounted a watchdog project to patrol the image of journalists on TV and film, by offering consultants to media makers. The Society argues that portrayals of unprofessional journalists in such films as *Absence of Malice* and *Year of the Dragon* and in TV dramas such as *Hill St. Blues* encourage the public to believe that the media abuses its First Amendment rights. The unasked question is: would improved images be any closer to reality? Take a look at a study by the National Commission of Working Women on the portrayal of women over 50 on television, which it reports has been changed from "powerless, befuddled, inflexible and feeble" 10 years ago to "powerful, creative, appealing and affluent" today. Unfortunately, NCWW notes, the new image is not necessarily more accurate than before. Five of the 19 characters studied are millionaires, and none are Hispanic or Asian. Most are either well-off homemakers or power-executives. (In real life, some two-thirds of the working women over 50 have clerical, sales or service jobs.) And of course, on TV age is unimportant for the over-50s, who "look and act younger than one would conventionally expect."

See No Evil

The South African government knows plenty about the power of the media, and that's presumably why ABC, NBC and a British TV news organization all discovered that videotape shipments out of South Africa were coming up short. The South African government is meeting with U.S. officials about the scandal, but its own handling of the media does not give grounds for reassurance. South African public TV regularly edits out images of racial conflict, a practice recently excoriated by opposition members in the South African parliament who charge the news is losing credibility in the black community. Not to be outdone, right-wingers are also attacking the service; the leader of the Conservative Party claims that public TV coverage is boosting the prospects for black politicians such as Zulu Chief Buthelezi. Meanwhile, the BBC has produced a political thriller from a prize-winning but banned South African novel titled *Death Is Part of the Process*. The growing conflict in South Africa increased investor interest in the project, which had languished without backers before.

Update

Last spring, *National Review* editor and Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) board member Richard Brookhiser proposed that CPB undertake an expensive survey of "bias" (read: liberal viewpoints) in public TV documentaries. After protests by public TV officials who called the proposal meddling, money-wasting, and, if executed by Brookhiser's chosen researchers, possibly biased itself, Rep. John Dingell called CPB to account. Conservative Congress members joined in, and the study is now in limbo. —Pat Aufderheide



FILM

The truth about Men and women

By Pat Aufderheide

TAKE A MAN TO THE MOVIES this fall; it's a good season for it, even if you have to look past most of the mainstream product. Along with the hilarious and biting *She's Gotta Have It*—where black filmmaker Spike Lee puts a woman's vision of sensuality in the center of the frame—come two recent entries from across the ocean, where women directors are looking at sex roles with a particularly canny eye.

The big hit from Germany—it outgrossed *Rambo* there—is *Men*. Directed by the prolific young filmmaker Dorrie Dorrie, *Men* is her first comedy. It combines her casual, home-made independent film style with an anthropologist's eye for marital relations among the professional classes.

The plot is simple, improbable and full of gags that puncture pretensions. Yuppie adman Julius (Heiner Lauterbach) is used to the fast lane and affairs, but not when his trim, cool professional wife (Ulrike Kriener) has them. He stomps out of the house, and ends up rooming with her unknowing lover, hippie artist Stefan (Uwe Ochsenknecht).

Julius and Stefan are two sides of a counterfeit coin. Both long for the good life, even liberation, one through credit cards and the other through hip marginality. But both are constrained by their self-images, and their slow discovery of that fact. Their fundamental misunderstandings of their relationships with the woman in their lives is at the center of this domestic comedy.

Men is a slight film. Although Dorrie is a competent storyteller, she breaks no new ground here. *Men* is basically a one-joke movie—but it's a good joke, based on Dorrie's acute observation of the middle-class German professional male, a species not so different from its American counterpart. She describes her male characters as female fantasies, mysteries she calls "male Marilyn Monroes."

No need to take her at her word. A film that frames such remarks as "We men can be blackmailed by our consciences, women can't," and "Women are not capable of a normal affair—there's always something more, some kind of emotional garbage" with calculat-

ed irony does more than imitate male stereotypes in celluloid gender relations. Dorrie's savvy sense of male frailty and humor shows the roots of what is called "feminine intuition," in the need for careful observation of the deliberately self-ignorant ways of power.

Dorrie is also quietly cognizant of the arrogance of the German equivalents of our "Big Chill" types. These are people who rode through the '60s and early '70s era of social change without fundamentally changing their values or making commitments that might heave them out of a comfortable but confining middle age.

Men has transatlantic appeal, which Dorrie knows well. She has studied in the U.S. and professes an addiction to commodity culture. The film strikes familiar chords in Germany and the U.S. because the Western professional class is molded in similar ways on both sides of the ocean.

Bourgeois heartbreak

The languidly beautiful *Next Summer*, directed by Nadine Trintignant (condemned, as well as privileged, to go through life as Jean-Louis' wife) takes a more traditional European route to the problematic state of marital expectations. This is a film of bourgeois heartbreak, made with every production value a good bourgeois expects during an evening out with the missus. And if you're in the right mood, it's a luxurious bath in emotion, an exercise in vulnerability. And one that probably couldn't have been created by a male European director.

Philippe Noiret plays Edouard, dad of a sprawling family that includes Fanny Ardant as Dino, a daughter by a first marriage, Claudia Cardinale as Jeanne, the mother of their five children, and Marie Trintignant as Sidonie, her eldest daughter. The film, written by the director, traces the various marriages from the vantage point of the women's expectations.

The women's perspective, while vivid, doesn't impede our sympathy for the men, who are buffeted by the women's demands to treat them as people. And that's partly because the women's requirements come as something of a surprise even to the women as they struggle to meet the terms of a world where their new oppor-

tunities as women-people (not just wives, daughters and lovers) are also cruelly demanding challenges to all convention.

Edouard is the kind of guy who just loves women—his wives, his daughters, his lovers. When Jeanne blows up at his affairs, demanding to be seen as more than the ample provider of his children, he simply can't understand. Dino's boyfriend, the theatrical director Paul (Jean-Louis Trintignant) ostensibly recognizes her career and personal needs—except when he's having a crisis. As they get older—the film takes us through nearly a decade of their lives—the relationship can't sustain the pretense of equality and the strain of neurosis masquerading as passion.

Surprisingly, it's the relationship between pianist Sidonie, who can't overcome the terror of public performance, and her adoring husband Jude (Jerome Anger), that endures the decade. Jude loves Sidonie for what she can become, not only what he expects in a wife, and she gradually becomes her own artist as well as a wife and mother.

Next Summer elegantly probes the developing relationships with attention to the capacity of film to indulge the senses. It helps that the lead actors are seasoned professionals, and that the women are lovely enough to make any sane woman in the audience envious. But the film's success also depends on the creation of individual characters who evoke social conflicts at the level of character, without becoming exemplars of their social station.

Next Summer engages you in the way a family reunion involves you in your own family, and then throws you into the middle of family crisis when Edouard, estranged from his family, nearly dies. Generous in her interpretation of what goes bad between men and women who love each other for all the wrong reasons, the director-scriptwriter is also optimistic about the potential for renewal, as she sends Jeanne and Edouard home together, fractious but ready for a new era of family life together.

Men and *Next Summer* show that you don't have to put the other sex on a pedestal in order to explore its mystery. *Men* is a story of men in mid-life crisis, told with acerbic affection by a woman. *Next Summer* is the story of families in crisis, a crisis precipitated by expanding female expectations crashing up against the fears and anxieties of the men they love. The strength of these films lies in the acuity of female observations of male frailty, a perception achieved without relinquishing the love and concern that makes women on both sides of the ocean invested in a family future. ■

MUSIC

Phil Ochs: a real gone cat

By David Browne

THE PHIL OCHS WE HEAR ON *A Toast to Those Who Are Gone* (Archives Alive Records), a new collection of previously unreleased Ochs recordings, is cocky, a little green, ready for a fight—just like the young, lean, leather-jacketed guy who stares out from the album cover. “Come on along with me... till this land is free of shame,” he sings on the vibrant opening song, “Do What I Have to Do.” One listen to that lilting voice and stuttering acoustic guitar, and it’s back to Phil Ochs the fighter, Phil Ochs the rambunctious ’60s protester—not Phil Ochs the manic-depressive alcoholic who hanged himself 10 years ago last April.

When Ochs recorded most of these songs—around 1965, as demos for other singers—he had every reason to feel up. The Greenwich Village folk scene was hopping, record contracts were for the taking and social change seemed within reach. “When the seed of discontent plants and grows, I’ll be there,” goes a line in the album’s other resonant change-is-coming song, “I’ll Be There.” Problem is, those seeds never grew to the extent Ochs hoped, which inevitably makes *A Toast to Those Who Are Gone* unsettling. Listening to these impassioned songs, you can hear Ochs setting himself up for the fall.

When it comes to embodying the underbelly of the ’60s, the Phil Ochs story still makes Altamont and the pathetic decline of David Crosby pale by comparison. Idealistic kid from Ohio treks to New York’s Greenwich Village in 1962, lands in the middle of a coalescing music community, and channels burning political passion into a string of classic “protest” songs. Moves to L.A. in search of artistic growth and achieves some level of success. Witnesses the ’68 Chicago Democratic Convention debacle and the election of Nixon, and begins to grow increasingly disillusioned with the political system and his own stalled career. Ultimately hangs himself in his sister’s bathroom in Far Rockaway, Queens, on April 9, 1976.

It’s an easily romanticized story—a great story, in fact—but it hasn’t made Ochs loom any larger in death than he had in life. There’s been no “Ochs revival” in part because his legacy hasn’t been very memorable—one poorly distributed independent documentary (*Chords of Fame*, 1984), one hagiographic, unprobing documentary (Marc Eliot’s 1979 *Death of a Rebel*) and a couple of unauthorized “memorial” albums on the Folkways label.

Mighty Ochs legacy

Yet his influence persists quietly. Singer-songwriters like Canada’s Bruce Cockburn and England’s Billy Bragg mine some of Ochs’ favorite themes—social injustice, oppression, labor unions, bureaucratic morons—albeit without Ochs’ bemused sense of humor.

Elvis Costello, on his recent acoustic-based *King of America*, sounded very Ochs-like in songs like “Little Palaces” and “American Without Tears.” Meanwhile, diehard fan Sean Penn, along with Phil’s brother Michael (a rock photographer/archivist who founded Archives Alive Records), is trying to secure a movie deal for the authorized cinematic bio (with Penn, naturally, playing Phil). And now we have this, a new album, complete with serviceable liner notes by Penn.

A Toast to Those Who Are Gone isn’t essential Phil Ochs. Half of it consists of unmemorable broadsides written during his read-the-morning-paper-and-churn-out-25-songs period. Overall, there’s little here as stirring as “I Ain’t Marchin’ Anymore” or “Too Many Martyrs,” as plaintive as “Changes” or “Jim Dean of Indiana,” as sardonic as “Outside of a Small Circle of Friends,” or as bitterly introspective as his brilliant 1969 album *Rehearsals for Retirement*. Yet for demos, the singing and sparse accompaniment—mostly his voice and guitar with an occasional second instrument—are compelling and urgent.

Intimations of doom

At its best, the album is on a par with his uneven debut album, 1964’s *All the News That’s Fit to Sing*, even while it lacks the assuredness of 1966’s *Phil Ochs in Concert*, his strongest “protest” LP. Side one’s “Colored Town” is a taut, somber segregation ballad, while the funny “A.M.A. Song” (“but if you must use our ointment, then you must have an appointment/ or who’ll pay for those magazines you read?”) remains relevant.

The lovely “Going Down to Mississippi,” which closes the first side, is the first hint of impending doom. For a song about driving down to participate in a freedom march it’s pretty glum, with mournful lines like, “If you never see me again/ Remember that I had to go.” On side two, things get even bleaker. After another obligatory broadside and the anti-poverty “Christmas in Kentucky” comes the title song, a tribute to protesters past with intimations of his own death (“And a toll of the bell for the next one to die”). And the title alone of “I’m Tired” says it all.

The album’s last two songs reflect Ochs’ growing disenchantment with the counterculture and the American political system. “City Boy,” complete with a jaunty piano, is charming, but it’s apolitical and nostalgic, while “Song of My Returning,” sung in a hesitant, indecisive tone, is a half-hearted redemption song. “With every strength remaining, I will suffer one more scene,” he sings. “I’ll gather all my dreams/ And with my final breath/ I’ll lay them at your feet.” Recorded 10 years before his death, the song makes for a haunting finale to the album.

Beyond its status as an Ochs memorial, *A Toast to Those Who*



When it comes to embodying the underbelly of the ’60s, the Phil Ochs story still makes Altamont and the pathetic decline of David Crosby pale by comparison.

Are Gone also reveals a good deal about the state of the protest song after some 20 years. While it’s been said that today’s pop audience is less “political,” topical songs are hardly dead; they’re just not restricted to the traditional voice-and-guitar style of, say, lesbian folkie Phranc. Today, you can

which weds harsh anti-International Monetary Fund sentiments to a fast-paced arrangement of synthesizers, electric guitars and drums (see last week’s *In These Times*). Or UB40, the British reggae band who named themselves after the British unemployment form: their new *Rat in the Kitchen*

and Chernenko look-alikes—is a “protest” song. In this context, the recordings on *A Toast to Those Who Are Gone* seem quaint and naive by comparison—the work of a committed performer who honestly felt his music could effect change. Perhaps we’re too cynical to believe that now, but songs with political topics persist—and for all its flaws, the music on this album has retained its power.

Ironically, had Ochs stuck around a little longer, he may have felt right at home in the mid-’80s. After all, his 1974 “Evening with Salvador Allende” benefit wasn’t far removed from the objectives of Amnesty International and Live Aid, and it’s easy to picture him at Farm Aid, singing one of his later, countryish songs with the likes of Johnny Cash. MTV has even taken to airing Bruce Cockburn’s video for “Call It Democracy,” which concentrates unflinchingly on footage of contras and oppressed Latin American citizens. It’s nice to think that somewhere Phil Ochs is watching and tapping his foot to the rhythm, and wishing he’d stuck around. ■

David Browne is managing editor of the monthly magazine *Music & Sound Output*.

One listen to that lilting voice and stuttering acoustic guitar, and it’s back to Phil Ochs the fighter, Phil Ochs the rambunctious ’60s protester — not Phil Ochs the manic depressive alcoholic.

dance to protest songs, which has made a world of difference. Whether it’s U2, rap or last year’s stomping, star-studded “Sun City”—probably the best topical song of this decade—rock’n’roll with some sort of social message has crept onto pop radio and MTV.

Take Bruce Cockburn’s new single, “Call It Democracy,”

(A&M) tackles apartheid, world hunger and the burden of the middle class, and its first single, “Sing Our Own Song,” doesn’t sound out of place on the airwaves.

Even a blatant piece of hype like Frankie Goes to Hollywood’s 1984 single “Two Tribes”—accompanied by a video depicting a wrestling match between Reagan

Steel

Continued from page 5

that launched the Steel Valley Authority, insists that government must not leave investment decisions to the companies. A broader public authority in the Midwest could assemble and modernize the best steel-producing units into a public utility producing steel for all steel-finishing customers. Freed from constraints of private profit, it could form the basis of a revitalized steel industry, saving steel jobs and communities.

The government may find a decision over whether it will play an expanded role forced on it. For example, LTV has steel assets valued at \$1.3 billion and unfunded pension obligations of \$2 billion. The federal pension guarantee plan, already shaky, might be asked to shoulder those pensions. Then the government could end up with steel

mills on its hands. And there could be more pieces yet to play with if the USX assault on steelworkers and its competitors succeeds.

"I don't put anything past U.S. Steel," Regan said. "They want another Homestead." In 1892 at the Homestead mill in Pittsburgh, a predecessor of U.S. Steel, Henry Clay Frick and Andrew Carnegie cut wages, declared the mill non-union, locked out employees and brought in Pinkerton detectives, who were defeated by armed strikers. But with the state militia's help, the union was eventually broken. If USX tries to run the mills with strikebreakers, Stout, who represents the recently closed Homestead mill, forecast that "it's going to be war, time for guns and baseball bats. We aren't going to let them scab on steel mills. We're not going to have any PATCOs in the steel industry." The sentiment on Gary picket lines, where the favored attire is a cap with the logo "USX SUX," was equally adamant.

"How can someone abscond from a hearing when he is already in prison?" Rocamora asks. "Prison officials failed to bring them to their hearing, and so they got their bonds raised, or got ordered deported."

Rocamora says a Salvadoran client remained at Oakdale for one month after his bond had been paid, although INS policy is to release prisoners promptly upon bond payment.

Rocamora, who worked for two weeks at Oakdale as a volunteer attorney after leaving her job as director of the Immigrants' Rights Project for the National Lawyers Guild, believes that the harsh prison regimen at Oakdale is intended to induce refugees to waive their right to seek refuge in the U.S. and request deportation.

"These people are being treated as though they were convicted criminals," Rocamora says. "And they haven't been convicted of anything—they aren't even charged with a crime."

Robert Kahn is a paralegal at Oakdale Legal Assistance.

Soviet

Continued from page 13

running the society. Gorbachov is on the side of the pro-market forces, although his policies lag behind his rhetoric.

The debate is not new; it has been going on for several years, mostly in veiled form. Yet it has now come out in the pages of one of the newest and most innovative quarterly journals in the Soviet Union, *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniia* ("Sociological Investigations"). The debate began in the summer of 1984 with B. Yakushev's attack on the proponents of greater autonomy for individual enterprises. He insisted that to allow market relations to develop is equivalent to abandoning the principles of central planning. Calling his opponents "tovarnicks" or pro-marketeters, he took the position of the late Leonid Brezhnev and his then-party boss Chernenko.

In following issues, the debate continued with two articles defending the concept of markets under socialism and three from the "anti-tovarnick" group attacking it. The most frank and open counterattack on the anti-tovarnicks appeared this spring with articles by Genadii Osipov of the Institute of Sociological Research, a branch of the Academy of Science of the USSR and Mikhail Soloviev of a think-tank with the State Planning Committee.

Both made fun of what Soloviev called an attempt "to return us to the time of the short shorts, when it was considered normal to think that solutions to complex problems could be found in marginal alterations of this or that level of economic mechanisms (like planning, financing, pricing, etc.)." The tovarniks ridiculed the anti-tovarnicks' proposal to go slow and marketize only partially, with greater freedom in the service sector, as an effort "to cut a live organism in half."

The pro-market forces showed themselves to be much more vigorous and intel-

ligent. The debate itself is remarkable in that it spanned the tenures of two general secretaries, apparently without participants on either side losing their jobs or going to jail for having a "mistaken opinion."

August 6 moratorium

The democratization process that is taking place in the Soviet Union must continue. Not only is it demanded by the Soviet people but also by the dialectics of the world-wide movement for democratic socialism. No matter how many times one repeats, "Socialism means genuine democracy," it will meet a deaf ear with the majority of people, who see present-day existing socialist countries as undemocratic and oppressive—lacking elemental political freedoms and continuing to discriminate against minorities along racial, ethnic, religious, sexual and political lines.

A few weeks ago I received a letter from my mother, who I have not seen in more than 12 years. My father died before the KGB asked me to leave the country, when I was 20. The letter contains two pictures of my mother in a city park. A bit overweight, her legs are covered with varicose veins.

Her face is soft and still kind. It is lined with wrinkles and there are large dark circles under her eyes, which she tries to cover up with powder. She apologizes for getting older and pleads for peace. She hopes the next summit will allow her to see her only son—optimism I cannot share.

This is what sadistic elements within the Soviet leadership bet on. They think that by putting a squeeze on my mother and tens of thousands of mothers like her they will force us to be silent. But the only response they can hope to get is hatred and contempt.

Soviet conservatives want a rise in tension between the Soviet Union and the U.S. The Reagan administration's policy of global confrontation is their only salvation, since they lack a positive vision of the future. Peace, detente and rapprochement in Soviet-American relations is their mortal enemy, just as it threatens the profitability of the military-industrial complex in the U.S.

That is why Gorbachov's historic August 6 moratorium, just extended for another five months, through January 1, is so important.

Peace, freedom and social justice cannot be separated. An enslaved peace is worse than death—there can never be a secure peace without social justice.

Alexander Amerisov publishes *The Soviet-American Review*, a monthly newsletter on Soviet affairs.

Palestine Human Rights Campaign National Conference

September 19-20, 1986, Chicago

"Palestine and Justice: The Next Phase"

Panels:

- * "Unity in Diversity: Beyond Sabra & Shatila"
- * "Religious Aspects of Justice in the Holy Land"
- * "Historical & International Dimensions"
- * "The Future: Where Do the Palestinians Go From Here?"
- * "Confronting Zionist Systems in the U.S."
- * "Bantustans in the Promised Land: Israeli Apartheid & Palestinian Resistance"

Speakers:

- * Rev. Allan Boesak, World Alliance of Reformed Churches
- * Dr. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, Northwestern U.
- * Dr. Noam Chomsky, M.I.T.
- * Dr. Eqbal Ahmad, Hampshire College, Institute for Policy Studies

Special Features:

- * Palestinian Culture Exhibit
- * Artist Kamal Boullata will show and discuss his film, "Stranger at Home"

Hotel Continental
505 No. Michigan
Chicago, Illinois 60611

For more information write:

PHRC Conference
220 So. State St.,
Chicago, Illinois 60604
or call: 312-987-1830.

IN THESE TIMES

SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

I AM

(if applicable, affix your mailing label here)

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

☐ **MOVING** Tell us where so IN THESE TIMES can join you at your new home.

NEW address _____

City, State, Zip _____

If possible affix your mailing label to facilitate the change. If no label is available, be sure to include both the new and OLD zip codes with the complete addresses. Please allow 4-6 weeks for the address change.

☐ **SUBSCRIBING** Fill out your name and address above and we will have IN THESE TIMES with news and analysis you can't find anywhere else, in your mailbox within 4-6 weeks. (check price/term below) **STN5**

☐ **RENEWING** Do it now and keep IN THESE TIMES coming without interruption. Affix your mailing label above and we will renew your account to automatically extend when your current subscription expires. (check price/term below) **RST5**

☐ **SHOPPING** Give an IN THESE TIMES gift subscription. It makes a perfect gift for friends, relatives, students or associates. Send IN THESE TIMES as my gift to: (I have filled out my name and address above)

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

A handsome gift card will be sent. How would you like it signed? **STH5**

PRICE/TERM

☐ One year \$34.95 ☐ Student/Retired One year \$24.95

☐ Six months \$18.95 ☐ One year (institutional) \$59.00

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me later

☐ Charge my VISA/MC acct # _____ Exp. date _____

Call toll-free 1-800-247-2160. In Iowa call 1-800-362-2860.

Above prices for U.S. residents only. Foreign orders add \$13 per year.

☐ **COMPLAINING** Let us know, we want to help. Our subscribers are important to us. We want to make sure you receive the best of service. Please affix your mailing label above or give the name and address on the subscription. What seems to be wrong?

IN THESE TIMES CUSTOMER SERVICE, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657
(312) 472-5700

BLACKLISTED NEWS!

The Secret History of the Seventies

The Dreaded Yippie Curse

New Yippie Manifestos

How to Revolt Handbook

Send \$13.95 for your 733-page book:
Bleecker Publishing
5 E. Long St. #312
Columbus, OH 43215

Ingrid

Continued from page 24

trucks or sell furniture. Most of Ingrid's classmates see college as a tool or a hobby—but not an investment for the future. It seems to me that there are several reasons for their attitudes.

First, they have been consumers since they were born. When their parental drop-outs—the altruists of the '60s—rebelled against advertising and began buying health foods, baking their own bread and riding bicycles, America's producers concentrated on the next-most-likely target: the young.

Cartoon ads extolled the virtues of buying everything from toys to vitamins. Instead of baby dolls that wet their diapers, Ingrid's generation had Barbie dolls for whom one bought not only clothes and furniture, but also cars and campers. Manufacturers rushed hundreds of new games onto the market (including "Careers," "Life," "The Money Game," "The Price Is Right"). As Ingrid and her friends entered junior high, they were already experimenting with diets, make-up, lingerie and home permanents, all of which they'd seen advertised in magazines and on TV.

Second, though consumer-directed, they grew up on the downside of the opulent '60s. Unlike the "Me Generation" with its instant gratifications, they started school just as the recession took away jobs, drove the price of gasoline sky high and made new housing unaffordable. They saw their parents take moonlighting jobs and quit eating out. While advertisers' shouts to *buy!* grew louder, the nation's ability to do so decreased.

Children of the earlier decade could disregard consumer goods because it seemed

to them that anything could be obtained easily. But not to Ingrid's generation. For them, a purchase is a victory. And the route to that victory is to get a job and earn the money from it now, not to go to college and pursue some far-off pie in the sky.

As a group, they tend to be pragmatic and pessimistic. The Reagan years have taught them that the rich stay rich and dreamers don't prosper, so set reasonable goals and hope to live until 40. They worry about war with the Soviet Union—not abstractly, but in terms of how it might affect their personal lives. Instead of backpacking through Europe, they prefer to buy a color TV to watch at home. They choose to live in apartments because they are efficient and they eat at Taco Bells and Burger Kings because they are quick.

Third, although their goals are immediate and their ambitions constrained, they are not as self-sacrificing as the generation that emerged from the Great Depression of the '30s. A nervous immediacy haunts them. They are not saving to buy houses for their future families, and refuse to scrimp, save or do without in order to get a college degree. (And of those who do go to college, many do so because they like the lifestyle; like hang-gliding or water skiing, it's a recreation worth indulging in.)

After all, Ingrid's generation is the first generation reared in broken homes. Her mother and I separated when she was in high school, but many of Ingrid's contemporaries either grew up with two sets of parents or in settings that included boy friends, girl friends, group housing or other less-than-nuclear arrangements.

Day-to-day survivors of their personal lives, they are less likely to be attached to any one town, one culture, one part of the country than preceding generations. And why should they be? Wherever they go, there will always be another Motel 6, Mc-

Donald's, Baskin-Robbins and Safeway just like all the other ones.

In spite of this—perhaps because of it—they are less egocentric, less demanding and, I believe, ultimately more caring. Ingrid's generosity can be embarrassing; she is more concerned with baby kittens than the MX missile. By some standards (mine?), her world is very small; by her standards, it is very full. She both grew up too fast and didn't grow up quite enough; she aspires to less than she probably will

achieve.

To my question "What are you doing?" she answered that she now has two jobs and goes to two separate schools. Recently she bought a wading pool, eight sweaters and a portable TV. She says she's also taking exercise classes, dieting, learning about cars and joining Greenpeace.

I'm convinced that she's doing well. For her. For her generation.

Robert Joe Stout is a novelist who lives in Chico, Calif.

CALENDAR

PHILADELPHIA, PA

September 27

Greater Philadelphia Nonpartisan/Multipartisan "Meet Your Candidates" Luncheon. Eden Restaurant, International House, 1:00 p.m. Concerned Citizens of the Delaware Valley (CCDV); Box 47, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010, (215) 627-7240.

October 1

Proclamation Ceremony for Raoul Wallenberg Day. Mayor's Reception Room 202, City Hall; 4:00-6:00 p.m. Reception. Free to public. The Wallenberg Committee of Greater Philadelphia, Inc.; c/o Philadelphia Art Alliance, 251 South 18th St., Philadelphia, PA 19103, (215) 472-0989.

CHICAGO, IL

September 28

Sweet Honey in the Rock, the acclaimed *capella* quintet of black women singers will perform one show at People's Church, 941 W. Lawrence Ave. Sunday, Sept. 28. Tickets are \$13.50, \$11.50, \$9.50 (\$2.00 discount for hearing-impaired, disabled, under 12, and over 60), available at Ticketmaster, Women and Children First, 1967 N. Halsted, Guild Books, 2456 N. Lincoln, Val's Halla, 723 1/2 South Blvd., Oak Park, and Platypus Bookstore, 606 E. Dempster, Evanston.

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **ITT Calendar**.

WASHINGTON, DC

September 25

"Salt of the Earth," 1953 labor classic made by blacklisted, boycotted in U.S., and acclaimed abroad. Followed by discussion with producer Paul Jarrico. 8:30 p.m., GWU Marvin Center, 800 21st St. NW. Co-sponsors: DSA DC/Md and GWU Hillel. \$4 donation/\$2 low-income. Tickets at Common Concerns bookstore or at door. Info (202) 393-0433.

KENOSHA-RACINE, WI

September 27

Labor Concert '86 features Pete Seeger, Bobbie McGee, Joe Glazer, Kim and Reggie Harris, Larry Penn, Darryl Holter and others. Profits go to food banks in Racine and Kenosha. Tickets: \$10. University of Wisconsin-Parkside. Order tickets from Kelly Sparks, President, UAW Local 180, 3323 Kearney Ave., Racine, WI 53403.

CLASSIFIED

HELP WANTED

GOVERNMENT JOBS \$16,040-\$59,230/yr. Now Hiring. Call 1-805-687-6000, Ext. R-2440 for current federal list.

ALTERNATIVE JOBS/INTERNSHIP opportunities! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Current nation-wide listings—\$3. Community Jobs, 1319 18th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

IN-SHORT EDITOR sought for *IN THESE TIMES*. Spend three days a week hunting down stories, soliciting manuscripts, reporting, writing, editing, overseeing layout of "In Short" page. News experience and ability to write lively short items required. \$200 a week, 41 weeks per year, plus benefits. Reply to Sheryl Larson, *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITOR sought for *IN THESE TIMES*. Experience in domestic or foreign news editing required. Duties include copy editing by the acre, writing headlines and photo cutlines, coordinating copy flow throughout the production process, conceptualization and solicitation of stories. Salary negotiable. Good benefits. Send resume and clips or editing samples to Sheryl Larson, *ITT*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

THE PROGRESSIVE HAS AN OPENING for a Development Director experienced in: planning and budgeting for fundraising, direct mail, grant writing, major donor solicitations and newsletter production. Computer experience desirable.

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

4 hours of classes daily. Meetings with political leaders. Family living and community work. Apply now for August, September and October sessions. Call (212) 777-1197 or write to Casa Nicaraguense, 853 Broadway, Room #1105, New York, NY 10003

Good benefits. Salary negotiable depending on experience. Part-time considered. Send cover letter, resume and references to: Ruth Greenspan, Publisher, *The Progressive*, 409 E. Main St., Madison, WI 53703.

THE UNITED FARM WORKERS has many exciting opportunities. Join our table-grape boycott to obtain justice for farmworkers and protection for consumers from pesticides. If you are interested in our volunteer program, write to: United Farm Workers, Recruitment, Box 62, La Paz, Keene, CA 93570.

REGIONAL COORDINATOR to represent Nicaragua Network in Pacific Southwest Region. Tasks, through Nicaragua Information Center, will include organizing and fundraising. Full-time—\$1,000/mo., including medical. Send resume, references to: Nicaragua Information Center, P.O. Box 1004, Berkeley, CA 94701, by Oct. 1, 1986.

FUNDRAISER/ORGANIZER for dynamic, fast-growing Chicago CISPES. Need self-starter with knowledge of Central America. Experience in solidarity work and fundraising a plus. Low wages. Energizing atmosphere. Four weeks paid vacation. Send resume, references to Committee in Solidarity with the people of El Salvador, 3411 W. Diversey, Chicago, IL 60647.

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-781-4700. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

F U C N R D T H S A D U 2 C N volunteer!

IN THESE TIMES 10th anniversary advertising campaign needs bright minds. Learn more about the exciting possibilities, call Cynthia at 312/472-5700.

PUBLICATIONS

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS—"The gay movement's newspaper of record." Each week GCN brings you current informative news and analysis of lesbian and gay liberation. Feminist, non-profit. AND there's a monthly Book Review Supplement. Now in our 12th year. \$29.00 for the year (50 issues). \$17.00 for 25 weeks. Send check to GCN Subscriptions, Suite 509, 167 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111.

BOOKS

WAS LINCOLN MAD? His war a colossal fraud, cruel hoax. Box 458, Roscoe, NY 12776.

BUTTONS

VOTE REPUBLICAN, IT'S EASIER than thinking. Bumper Stickers, \$2 each and SASE. L. Ross, Box 160311, Austin, TX 78716.

RED FLAG LAPEL PINS \$1.50. Free

catalog. Socialist Party Favors, Box 8211-T, Des Moines, IA 50306.

TRAVEL

NICARAGUA STUDY TOURS. Includes urban and rural travel, meetings with government officials, unions, opposition leaders, church leadership. Call IFCO for dates and details. IFCO, 402 W. 145th St., New York, NY 10031. (212) 926-5757.

HOMES

GOVERNMENT HOMES from \$1 (U repair). Delinquent tax property. Repossessions. Call 1-805-687-6000, Ext. H-2440 for current repo list.

HEALTH

STUDENT AIDS teaches teens AIDS self-protection. \$1.95 plus 39¢ postage (Texas add 10¢ tax). Extratext, Box 126063, Benbrook, TX 76126.

DISCOVER HOMEOPATHIC MEDICINE FOR FREE. A Scientific

alternative. SASE to: Homeopathic Educational Services, 2124F Kirtledge, Berkeley, CA 94704.

PERSONALS

MEET OTHER LEFT SINGLES through Concerned Singles Newsletter. All areas. Free sample. P.O. Box 7737-T, Berkeley, CA 94707.

ATTENTION

MOVING? Let *In These Times* be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: *In These Times*, Circulation Dept., 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

VOLUNTEERS

ITT NEEDS VOLUNTEERS in the Business Dept. Gain political/practical experience in a stimulating environment. Flexible hours available between 9-5, Mon-Fri. Benefits include staff subscription rates, ping-pong. Call Hania at (312) 472-5700.

In These Times Classified Ads Grab Attention



...and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 96,000 responsive readers each week (72% made a mail order purchase last year). *ITT* classics deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:

80¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
70¢ per word / 3-5 issues
65¢ per word / 6-9 issues
60¢ per word / 10-19 issues
50¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$22 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
\$20 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$18 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$16 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$13 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Advertising deadline is Wednesday, 14 days before the date of publication. All issues dated on Wednesday.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week(s).

Please indicate desired heading _____

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to:

IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

